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*August 1934*

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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

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*A Journal* devoted to research in  
Medieval and Modern Literature

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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

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VOL. XXXII

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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXXII

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NUMBER 1

## PERSONAL ALLEGORY IN THE *ARCADIA*: PHILISIDES AND LELIUS

THAT Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* is something more than a romantic fiction designed to entertain the idle hours of the Countess of Pembroke has long been recognized by Elizabethan scholars. As a collection of choice sentiments and phrases for use in polite conversation, it bears comparison with *Euphues*; as a pattern of chivalric behavior for the instruction of the gentleman, it follows in some measure the program of *The Faerie Queene*. Edwin Greenlaw, in a discerning study,<sup>1</sup> argues that the *Arcadia* was in Sidney's mind a serious didactic work, conforming in its method and purpose to the Elizabethan conception of the epic, and both he and others have found in it not only the representation of ethical, political, and social ideals by means of fictions but also a reflection of contemporary incidents and characters.

It is obviously impossible to fix Sidney's personal and political allegory, in so far as it exists, with even such approximation of definiteness and consistency as has been achieved in the case of Spenser. Sidney was in the first place more at the mercy of his own inventiveness. If he had particular Elizabethans in mind for his major characters the fiction smothers their identity almost beyond recognition, and the principle that has been found true of the allegorical method of *The Faerie Queene* is even more applicable to that of the *Arcadia*: the principle, namely, that the identifications are for the moment only and that the play on contemporary situations seldom extends to a large sequence of events. The most that scholarship has done or, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> Edwin A. Greenlaw, "The *Arcadia* as an example of Elizabethan allegory," *Kittredge anniversary papers* (1913), pp. 327 ff.

[MODERN PHILOLOGY, August, 1934]

can expect to do in the way of interpretation of the personal allegory is to establish a few minor certainties.

The earliest document concerned with the personal allegory in the *Arcadia* is the well-known letter of Tyndale, published in Aubrey's *Brief lives*, which identifies Pamela with Lady Northumberland, Penelope's sister; Helen, queen of Corinth, with Frances Walsingham, Sidney's wife; Amphialus with Sidney; Philoclea with Penelope Devereux; Miso with Lady Cox; Mopsa with Lady Lucy; Pyrocles with Lord Rich; Musidorus with the Earl of Northumberland; Philisides with Sidney. Tyndale, who was complying with Aubrey's request for a key to the *Arcadia*, wisely disclaimed responsibility for these identifications and attributed them to hearsay only.

The interpretations of modern scholars are less inclusive and less definite. Dobell suggested that Mira and Philoclea portray in certain respects Penelope Devereux.<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Brie agrees with this opinion and adds that Musidorus, Pyrocles, Amphialus, and, of course, Philisides show traces of the personality of Sidney himself; that Urania suggests Mary Pembroke; that the King of Phrygia may have been modeled upon Philip of Spain; that Helen, queen of Corinth, represents Elizabeth; that Coridon is the poet's friend Edward Dyer.<sup>3</sup> Wallace also saw Elizabeth in Queen Helen of Corinth,<sup>4</sup> while Fox Bourne believed the Countess of Pembroke to be depicted in Pamela.<sup>5</sup> Greenlaw argued that Musidorus is Sidney himself,<sup>6</sup> and he interpreted the captivity episode as dealing with the proposed French marriage—Cecropia representing Katherine de Medici, Clinias representing Simier, and Amphialus representing Alençon.<sup>7</sup> W. D. Briggs, on the other hand, interpreted the passage as referring to Scottish relations, proposing Mary, queen of Scots, as the original of Cecropia and James VI as that of Amphialus.<sup>8</sup>

Amid this diversity of opinion, one identification, that of Philisides

<sup>2</sup> Dobell, *Quarterly review*, CCXI (1909), 74–100.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich Brie, "Sidney's *Arcadia*: Eine Studie zur englischen Renaissance," *Quellen und Forschungen*, CXXIV (1918), chap. xii.

<sup>4</sup> M. W. Wallace, *Life of Sidney* (1915), p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> H. R. Fox Bourne, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney, type of English chivalry* (1891), p. 217.

<sup>6</sup> "Shakespeare's pastorals," *Studies in philology*, XIII, 122 ff.

<sup>7</sup> "The Captivity Episode in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Mainly anniversary papers* (1923), pp. 59–60.

<sup>8</sup> "Political ideas in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Studies in philology*, Vol. XXVIII (1931).

as Sidney, has been firmly established.<sup>9</sup> There has been a general acceptance, also, of the identification of Helen, queen of Corinth, with Elizabeth, at least in the passage quoted below.<sup>10</sup> These interpretations may serve as a basis for another of almost equal interest, the establishment of which will help to round out the allegorical interpretation of one whole episode in the *Arcadia*—the episode, namely, of the tournament held in honor of the Queen of Iberia at her yearly triumph. The relevant parts of the passage in question, which occurs only in the revised edition (Book II, chap. xxi), are as follows:

The time of the maryinge that Queene was every year, by the extreame love of her husband, & the serviceable love of the Courtiers, made notable by some publicke honours, which indeede (as it were) proclaymed to the worlde, how deare she was to the people. Among other, none was either more gratefull to the beholders, or more noble in it selfe, then justs, both with sword and launce, maintained for a seven-night together: wherein that Nation dooth so excell, bothe for comelines and hablenes, that from neighbour-countries they ordinarily come, some to strive, some to learne, and some to behold.

This day it happened that divers famous Knights came thither from the court of *Helen*, Queene of *Corinth*; a Ladie, whom Fame at that time was so desirous to honor, that she borrowed all mens mouthes to joyne with the sounde of her Trumpet. For as her beautie hath wonne the prize from all women, that stand in degree of comparison (for as for the two sisters of *Arcadia*, they are farre beyond all concept of comparison) so hath her government bene such, as hath bene no lesse beautiful to mens judgements, then her beautie to the eiesight. For being brought by right of birth, a woman, a yong woman, a faire woman, to governe a people, in nature mutinously prowde, and alwaies before so used to hard governours, as they knew not how to obey without the sworde were drawne. Yet could she for some yeares, so carry herselfe among them, that they found cause in the delicacie of her sex, of admiration, not of contempt: & which was notable, even in the time that many countries were full of wars (which for old grudges to Corinth were thought still would conclude there) yet so handles she the matter, that the threatens ever smarted in the threatners; she using so straunge, and yet so well-succeeding a temper, that she made her people by peace, warlike; her courtiers by sports, learned; her Ladies by Love, chast. For by continuall martiall exercises without bloud, she made them perfect in that bloody art.

<sup>9</sup> See Bryskett's poem in the Spenserian volume of elegies on Sidney's death and Spenser's tribute, *The ruins of time*.

<sup>10</sup> Even Edward G. Harman in *The Countess of Pembroke's "Arcadia"* (1924) reached this conclusion. It is the only interpretation of his that remains untouched by the Baconian theory.

Her sportes were such as caried riches of Knowledge upon the streame of Delight: & such the behaviour both of her selfe, and her Ladies, as builded their chastitie, not upon waywardnes, but by choice of worthines: So as it seemed, that court to have bene the mariage place of Love and Vertue, & that her selfe was a *Diana* appparelled in the garments of *Venus*. . . .

The first that ran was a brave Knight, whose device was to come in, all chayned with a Nymph leading him; his *Impresa* was [design]. Against him came forth an *Iberian* whose manner of entring was, with bagpipes in stead of trumpets; a shepheards boy before him for a Page, and by him a dosen appparelled like shepherds for the fashion, though riche in stuffe, who caried his launces, which though strong to give a launcely blow indeed, yet so were they coloured with hooks neere the mourn, that they pretily represented shephooks. His own furniture was drest over with wooll, so enriched with Jewels artificially placed, that one would have thought it a mariage betweene the lowest and the highest. His *Impresa* was a sheepe marked with pitch, with this word *Spotted to be knowne*. And because I may tell you out his conceipt (though that were not done, till the running for that time was ended) before the Ladies departed from the windowes, among them there was one (they say) that was the *Star*, whereby his course was only directed. The shepherds attending upon *PHILISIDES* went among them, & sang an eclogue; one of them answering another, while the other shepheards pulling out recorders (which possesse the place of pipes) accorded their musick to the others voice. The Eclogue had great praise: I onely remember sixe verses, while having questioned one with the other, of their fellow-shepheards sodaine growing a man of armes, and the cause of his so doing, they thus said.

*Me thought some staves he mist: if so, not much amisse:  
For where he most would hit, he ever yet did misse.  
One said he brake acrossse; full well it so might be:  
For never was there man mor crossely crost then he.  
But most cryed, O well broke: O fool full gaily blest:  
Where failing is a shame, and breaking is his best.*

Thus I have digrest, because his maner liked me wel: But when he began to run against *Lelius*, it had neere growne (though a great love had ever bene betwixt them) to a quarrell. For *Philisides* breaking his staves with great commendation, *Lelius*, (who was knowne to be second to none in the perfection of that Art) ranne ever over his head, but so finely to the skilfull eyes, that one might well see, he shewed more knowledge in missing, then others did in hitting. For with so gallant a grace his staffe came swimming close over the crest of the Helmet, as if he would represent the kisse and not the stroke of *Mars*. But *Philisides* was much moved with it, while he thought *Lelius* would shew a contempt of his youth: till *Lelius* (who therefore would satisfie him because he was his friend) made him know, that to such bondage he was for so many courses tyed by her, whose disgraces to him were graced

by her excellency, and whose injuries he could never otherwise returne, then honours.

But so by *Lelius* willing-missing was the odds of the *Iberian* side, and continued so in the next by the excellent running of a Knight, though fostred so by the *Muses*, as many times the verie rustick people left both their delights and profites to harken to his songs; yet could he so well perforce all armed sports, as if he had never had any other pen, then a Launce in his hand. He came in like a wild man; but such a wildnes, as shewed his eye-sight had tamed him, full of withered leaves, which though they fell not, still threatned falling. His *Impresa* was, a mill-horse still bound to goe in one circle; with this word, *Data Fata Sequutus*. But after him the Corinthian knights absolutely prevailed, especially a great noble man of Corinth; whose devise was to come in without any devise, all in white like a new knight, as indeed he was; but so new, as his newnes shamed most of the others long exercise. Then another from whose tent I remember a birde was made flie, with such art to carry a written embassage among the Ladies, that one might say, If a live bird, how so taught? if a dead bird, how so made? Then he, who hidden, man and horse in a great figure lively representing the *Phoenix*: the fire tooke so artificially, as it consumed the birde, and left him to rise as it were, out of the ashes thereof. Against whom was the fine frozen Knight, frozen in despaire; but his armor so naturally representing ice, and all his furniture so lively answering therto, as yet did I never see anything that pleased me better.

But the delight of those pleasing sights have caried me too farre in an unnecessary discourse.<sup>11</sup>

Friedrich Brie noticed this passage and remarked that here as well as in the forty-first and forty-third sonnets "mag der Dichter eigene Erfahrungen wiedergeben,"<sup>12</sup> Edward Harman considered it "obscure and enigmatical,"<sup>13</sup> and William D. Briggs has more recently said of it: "This whole passage undoubtedly conceals some episode of court life, but how to unveil it?"<sup>14</sup>

The solution to the problem lies in the identity of *Lelius*. This Corinthian knight is none other than Sir Henry Lee, the Queen's Champion and Master of the Armory.<sup>15</sup> Besides the obvious fact that the first syllable of this pseudonym is Lee, there are two contemporary documents which afford proof. At Lee's death a case in Chancery was filed by his cousin and heir, Sir Henry Lee, against Sir Thomas Vava-

<sup>11</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *Arcadia*, ed. Feuillerat, II, 282-86.

<sup>12</sup> P. 267 n.

<sup>13</sup> P. 139.

<sup>14</sup> P. 151 n.

<sup>15</sup> On Lee see Sara Ruth Watson, "The Queen's Champion," *Western Reserve bulletin; studies in English literature*, N.S., XXXIV, No. 13 (September 15, 1931), 65-89.

sour and Anne Finche, alias Vavasour, who was the mistress of the deceased, for an account of household stuff and personal property. The Masters' Report of the investigation lists jewels, plate, linens, "hangings, Corne and other stuffe, remayninge at the death of the testator in his houses at Lelius in Weedon, Lee's Reste and Spilsbury."<sup>16</sup> Lelius, then, was the name of an estate of Sir Henry Lee's. Second, Joshua Sylvester in his translation of *Du Bartas* (1611) paid a tribute to Lee under the name Lelius, describing him as "an honorable person of our time now very aged: but in his younger years the Glory of Arms and Chivalrie."

As hardy Laelius, that great Garter-Knight  
(Tilting in triumph of Eliza's Right  
Yearly that Day that her dear reign began)  
Most bravely mounted on proud Rabican,  
All in gilt armour, as his glistring Mazar  
A stately plume, of orange mixt with Azur,  
In gallant course, before ten shousand eyes,  
From all defendants bore the Princely Prize.<sup>17</sup>

Lelius very properly appears in the *Arcadia* as Queen Helen's knight, who was "second to none in the perfection of that Arte" and who showed "more knowledge in missing then others did in hitting." His introduction here was obviously intended to be a graceful compliment from one courtier to another.

In the light of these facts it seems most probable that Sir Philip was recording a pretty bit of chivalric byplay that actually occurred. There is, of course, a chance that he merely invented the description, but this possibility is unlikely for the following reasons. The spirit of the entire account is highly personal and intimate. The passage is in the nature of an interpolation: it has no connection with the plot either by incident or character, and the author felt obliged to apologize for wandering from his narrative. Finally, the compliment would have had less force if the incident were purely fictitious.

There is extant one record which establishes proof of friendship between Sidney and Lee. The latter was a member of the party that accompanied Sir Philip on his embassy in the spring of 1577 to congratulate Louis, the elector of the palatinate, and Rudolph, the new

<sup>16</sup> P.R.O., Masters' Reports, 1616, P-N, Vol. XXV, Hilary term.

<sup>17</sup> *Du Bartas, his divine weekes and workes* (1641 ed.), p. 36.



emperor of Germany. The young diplomat also carried general instructions to discuss the Protestant league with various princes.<sup>18</sup> Undoubtedly, there were other connections between these two courtiers, but research has not yet been able to bring them to light.

Assuming, then, that this encounter in the lists actually took place, is it possible to discover the particular joust which Sidney had in mind? Friedrich Brie found the original of the fine frozen knight in the Fortress of Perfect Beautie Tournament held by Lord Windsor, the Earl of Arundel, Fulke Greville, and Sir Philip Sidney on May 15 and 16, 1581,<sup>19</sup> but he did not for this reason claim it to be the original of the Arcadian jousting. The defendants who ran on this May day were Henrie Grey, Thomas Perot, Anthonie Cooke, Thomas Ratcliffe, Henrie Knolles, William Knolles, Robert Knolles, Francis Knolles, Rafe Bowes, Thomas Kelwaie, George Goring, William Tresham, Robert Alexander, Edward Dennie, Hercules Meantus, Edward Moore, Richard Skipwith, Richard Ward, Edward Digbie, Henrie Nowell, Henrie Brunkard. Sir Henry Lee entered as the Unknown Knight and broke his six staves. The order of the tilting is in no way indicated and very few of the devices are described.

Nothing else marks this tourney as the original of Sidney's. Indeed, his own appearance there contained no suggestion of the pastoral; he entered "in verie sumptuous manner, with armour part blew, and the rest gilt and engraven, with four spare horses, having caparisons and furniture verie rich and costlie, as some of cloth of gold imbrodered with pearle, and some imbrodered with gold and silver feathers, verie richlie and cunninglie wrought . . . he had thirty Gentlemen and Ieomen, and foure trumpeters." Dr. Brie found the original of Philisides' device in the costume of M. Florengis, who appeared as a shepherd at the Cloth of Gold Tournament (June, 1520).

<sup>18</sup> Historical MSS Com. Report, Belvoir MSS, Thos. Screvan to Earl of Rutland, February 16, 1577.

<sup>19</sup> That there was a frozen knight in this tournament is obvious from the following speech occurring therein. This is the basis for Brie's discovery. "Despaire, no not Despaire (most high and happie Princesse) could so congeale the frozen knight in the aler, but that Desire (ah sweet Desire) enforced him to behold the sun on the earth; whereon as he was gazing with twinkling eie (for who can behold such beames stedfastlie!) he began to dissolve into drops, meeting with such delight, that he seemed to preferre the lingering of a certain death before the lasting of an uncertaine life. Such is the nature of ingraven Loialtie, that it chooseth rather to have the bodie dissolved, than the mind disliked." The description of the entire triumph is found in Goldwell's letter printed in Nichols' *Progresses*, II, 319-29. No doubt Sidney and Greville had a hand in composing this tournament.

But the same disguise was used at a tourney at Tarascon in 1449, where both ladies and gentlemen were dressed as shepherdesses and shepherds. Sidney may therefore have been utilizing a familiar tradition if he appeared at an actual tilt in pastoral garb, or his descriptions of knights' furnitures in the *Arcadia* may be purely fictitious—a romantic touch to an otherwise faithful account.<sup>20</sup> However that may be, it seems probable that Spenser recalled either the passage in the *Arcadia* or the original tourney when he wrote the following description of Sir Calidore:

Which Calidore perceiving, thought it best  
To chaunge the manner of his loftie looke;  
And doffing his bright armes, himselfe address  
In shepherds weed, and in his hand he tooke,  
In stead of steelhead speare, a shepheards hooke.<sup>21</sup>

The best reason for rejecting the May tournament as the original of the one described in the *Arcadia* is the fact that the latter is called a "yearly juste" and so points directly to the Queen's Day tournaments held annually on the seventeenth of November, the day of Elizabeth's accession. These affairs must have surpassed any other Elizabethan festival of the sort in magnificence and in prestige. Their institution marked the determination of Elizabeth to maintain and attach to her own person the glory of the chivalric tradition, and Sir Henry Lee, their founder, became, beyond all other Elizabethan figures, the outward and visible symbol of knightly loyalty. He remained, as is well known, the Queen's Champion, defending her honor against all comers, until the tournament of 1590, described in Peele's *Polyhymnia*, when, amid much sentimentality, he resigned his lance and office to the Earl of Cumberland. Very naturally Sidney would have wished to memorialize an institution so picturesquely representative of the ideals for which he lived.

That he should have connected the tourney with the court of Andromana rather than with that of Helen is perhaps significant. Loyal courtier though Sidney was and capable of paying sincere homage to his sovereign in the customary eloquence of his day, he had, as

<sup>20</sup> Bound up in this subject is the customary portrayal of Sidney as the Shepherd Knight. Philisides is a shepherd and Musidorus, whom Greenlaw believed likewise to represent Sidney, is disguised as one.

<sup>21</sup> *The Faerie Queene*, VI, ix, 36.

we know, good reason to dislike her personally, and he chafed both on his own account and on Leicester's under her arbitrary will. Is it not then possible that he allowed himself to associate her, not only with the model woman sovereign, Helen, but also with the violent and tyrannical queen of Iberia? The account of Andromana's passionate behavior toward Pyrocles and Musidorus sounds like a gross caricature of Elizabeth's occasional treatment of her favorites, and the description of her "exceeding red haire with small eyes which did (like ill companions) disgrace the other assembly of most commendable beauties"<sup>22</sup> may well be a realistic touch animated by personal malice. To equip such a sovereign with an annual tournament and to enrol Philisides among the knights, while at the same time giving her rival most of the official attributes of Elizabeth, including the championship of Sir Henry Lee, would seem to be a procedure well calculated to intrigue the minds of those who shared Sidney's mixed attitude of loyalty and hostility toward his queen.

It remains to consider what particular Queen's Day tournament Sidney has in mind, if the incident is, as we have argued, to be taken literally. Such a tournament would have to fall before 1585, the date of Sidney's departure from England. It would probably not be much earlier than 1580, for the old *Arcadia*, completed in that year, bears no evidence of special interest in the practices of chivalry and does not, as we have seen, contain this passage. Now the only extant accounts of Queen's Day tournaments within these limits are those describing the tilts of 1581 and 1584. In the former Sidney actually ran against Sir Henry Lee.<sup>23</sup> The record, from an Ashmolean MS, is as follows:

These be the names of the noblemen and gentlemen, that for the honour of the Queenes Majestie did their endeavour at the tilt at Westminster on the xvijth day of November, beinge the first day of the xxiiijth yere of the reigne of quene Elizabeth, whome God in his great mercy longe contynue to reigne over this sinneful realme of England. AMEN.

## 1581 24 ELIZABETH

Theerle of Arundell . . . . .	The Lord Windsore
Henry Greye . . . . .	Henry Windsore
Sr. Henry Lee . . . . .	Phillip Sidney
Sr. Thomas Perot . . . . .	Thomas Ratclyffe

<sup>22</sup> *Arcadia*, I, 101.

<sup>23</sup> MS Ash. 845, fol. 165.

1581 24 ELIZABETH—*Continued*

Ffoulke Greville.....	Rawffe Bowes
Edward Norrys.....	Thomas Knevit
Anthony Cooke.....	John Patyngeton
George Gifford.....	Thomas Kailloway
Robert Alexander.....	George Goringe
Edward More.....	Henry Bronkard
William Tresham.....	Rychard Warde
Everard Digby.....	Tyrrell
Storey.....	
William Knolles.....	Robart Knolles

This, then, may be the original of the Queen of Iberia's jousting at which Philisides by the "ancient courtesie" of Lelius was allowed to win. How to account for the presence on this occasion of the Frozen Knight, who, as we have seen, is associated with a tournament which had been held the preceding May, remains perplexing. It will be noticed that some gentlemen who ran in the May tournament also participated in the Queen's Day running, and it might have been that the presence of one of these at the latter affair called to Sidney's mind the device of the same gentleman at the former. It is even conceivable that he wore the same furniture, or part of it, in both celebrations. Researches for originals of the other knights described by Sidney have thus far brought no results. The safest conclusion is, perhaps, that Sidney, besides deliberately confusing the reader as to which of the two queens really represents Elizabeth, introduced elements from various tilts in his description of the apparel and devices of the participants. He thus obscured the foundation of his account and converted his factual material to the stuff of poetry, without, however, so far departing from the original event as to make it unrecognizable by the initiated.

JAMES HOLLY HANFORD  
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### THE MEANING OF *EDWARD II*

MARLOWE'S *Edward II* is unquestionably a chronicle play in the sense that it is based on a definite period of English history and draws its characters from the chronicles depicting that period. And it has often been regarded as having no other significance than as a chronicle play, notably by F. E. Schelling in *The English chronicle play*<sup>1</sup> and by W. D. Briggs in the introduction to his edition of the play.<sup>2</sup> The latter emphasizes Marlowe's abandonment of the survey method of chronicle drama and his insistence "that a given mass of historical material shall be, as it were, integrated."<sup>3</sup> Marlowe, he says, confined himself to "a salient aspect of the reign of Edward of Carnarvon," connected men and events, and "strove to make his figures real and living, so that the relation between character and events should appear necessary and organic."<sup>4</sup>

The play is not, however, in the minds of some, merely a chronicle drama. J. M. Berdan argues that Marlowe implies a certain parallelism with the relations of James VI of Scotland and Esmé Stuart, and that his purpose was political: to answer "criticisms against the Scottish claimant" and to warn "that he who defies God's anointed is in dangerous ways."<sup>5</sup> A more general political interpretation is suggested by Miss U. M. Ellis-Fermor, who considers *Edward II* the final play in a group which includes also *The massacre at Paris*, *The first part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, and *The true tragedy of Richard Duke of Yorke*. These plays she regards as studies in statecraft, Machiavellian policy, and kingship. She thinks Marlowe once accepted Machiavellian doctrines but "outgrew his infatuation for them."<sup>6</sup> She comments thus:

*Edward II*, the play that completes this group, indicates, by its sympathetic analysis of a figure who was the helpless prey of those intrigues, his

<sup>1</sup> (New York, 1902), pp. 63-74.

<sup>2</sup> Marlowe's *Edward II* (London, 1914).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. cix.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ci.

<sup>5</sup> "Marlowe's *Edward II*," *Philological quarterly*, III (1924), 207.

<sup>6</sup> *Christopher Marlowe* (London, 1927), p. 92.

rising certainty that there was a world elsewhere, as significant, if not more significant than that of "policy," and that more of the true nature of man was revealed in it.<sup>7</sup>

She sees in "the affection which the helpless king inspired" the force which "destroyed either the Machiavellianism or the Machiavellian." "This," she thinks, "is Marlowe's final comment upon the doctrine of 'pollicie,' " and brings us to the consideration of what a king is.<sup>8</sup>

An entirely different explanation of *Edward II* is given by W. L. Phelps, who groups it with *Tamburlaine*, *Dr. Faustus*, and *The Jew of Malta*, in that it, like them, "deals with a single elemental passion."<sup>9</sup> He avers that in this play "Edward loses his character, his position, his influence, his queen, and finally his life, in the vain passion of friendship."<sup>10</sup>

It is to a study of *Edward II* as a friendship play that this paper is devoted, in the belief that such a study may explain some aspects of Marlowe's procedure.<sup>11</sup>

Obviously any suggested interpretation of *Edward II* must recognize Marlowe's variations from his sources (Holinshed's *Chronicles* and, in a few points, the chronicles of Fabian and Stowe<sup>12</sup>) and must be consonant with them. Those variations have often been noted; the record of omissions has been conveniently summarized by Briggs:

Marlowe omitted the suppression of the order of the Temple; everything connected with the constant warfare with Scotland, except the allusions in ll. 655-6, 913, 962, 975 ff.; everything connected with the Irish wars, except the allusions in ll. 419, 960; everything connected with Edward's journey to France to do homage, and with the French attacks on his continental possessions, except the allusions in ll. 958, 1350 ff.; all quarrels between Edward and the nobles on grounds other than his maintenance of lewd favourites, such as the quarrel between the king and Lancaster about Lancaster's homage for the earldom of Lincoln, and that arising from Isabella's exclusion from the castle of Badlesmere. Furthermore, he omitted all private wars, such as those between Banister and Lancaster, between Middleton and the Bishop

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 122.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Marlowe, ed. W. L. Phelps (New York, 1912), p. 21. For a full statement of Phelps' views, see pp. 21-23.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> The writer arrived independently at the conclusions presented herein. Most of them are given in his *Renaissance development in England of the classical ideas about friendship* (MS dissertation in the University of Chicago Library, 1925).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Curt Tzschaschel, *Marlowe's Edward II. und seine Quellen* (Halle, 1902).



of Durham, between the Marcher lords and the Despensers, except the allusion in l. 1341 f.; all the give and take of the war against Lancaster and his party save their final overthrow; the incident of the impostor Poidras; the treason of Andrew Harclay; the condemnation of Orleton, Bishop of Hereford; and finally, all such distractions of the kingdom as took place between the murder of Edward and the execution of Mortimer, except the rising of the Earl of Kent.<sup>13</sup>

It is unnecessary to insist that some motive actuated the playwright in these omissions, for some of the incidents left out are in themselves dramatic, particularly the revenge for Isabella's exclusion from Badlesmere, in which Edward was intelligently and courageously vigorous. That episode, as well as others, would veritably cry out for inclusion if the play were an ordinary chronicle history. And the omission of these events is consonant with emphasis upon the relations of Edward and his favorites; it helps, in fact, to produce that emphasis.

Briggs summarizes the manner in which the substance admitted into the play has been unified, and, in stressing the cause-and-effect basis, shows that Marlowe chooses and unites materials to emphasize the results of Edward's loyalty to his friends, Gaveston and the Spencers.<sup>14</sup> But, though Briggs is emphatic in his statement that, "not the intellect and the reason, but the will and the passions were his [Marlowe's] preferred objects of contemplation,"<sup>15</sup> he does not follow the argument to its logical conclusion; namely, that the passion emphasized in this play is friendship, and that that passion, since it, enforced by Edward's will—or wilfulness—brings about his ruin and death, is the central thing in the play.<sup>16</sup>

Besides omitting numerous events of Edward's reign, Marlowe makes significant modifications of the historical materials that he admits into the play. He brings forward to a much earlier period the Mortimer-Isabella relationship and invents the rôle of the queen in so far as she participates in the Gaveston affair (this point will be discussed later). In characterization, especially of Edward, Gaveston,

<sup>13</sup> Marlowe's *Edward II*, pp. ci-cii. The line references are to the edition of the play accompanying the discussion in the introduction. The allusions cited by Briggs are to passages dealing with honors Edward bestows upon Gaveston and Spencer, or with accusations made by the barons and the queen that Edward is disregarding state matters.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. cii ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. cxiv.

<sup>16</sup> For evidence of unusual interest in friendship in Elizabethan life, see Hans Kliehm, *Sentimentale Freundschaft in der Shakespeare-Epoche* (dissertation; Jena, 1915), pp. 1-19.

Mortimer, and Edmund, he is guided, not by the chronicles, but by his own needs as a dramatist.<sup>17</sup> This may be illustrated by his treatment of Gaveston. Marlowe relieves somewhat his selfishness and greed as pictured by Holinshed; for example, he does not mention Gaveston's sending to Gascony a "table & paire of trestels of gold"; the latter was thought "to belong sometime vnto king Arthur, and therefore men grudged the more that the same should thus be sent out of the realme."<sup>18</sup> He has dignified and beautified Gaveston's means of entertaining the king (ll. 50-72); Holinshed's account is plain-spoken and very uncomplimentary:

... Peers, who (as it may be thought, he had sworne to make the king to forget himselfe, and the state, to the which he was called) furnished his court with companies of iesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughtie ribalds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in iesting, plaieng, banketing, and in such other filthie and dishonorable exercises: and moreouer, desirous to aduance those that were like to him selfe, he procured for them honorable offices, all which notable preferments and dignities, sith they were ill bestowed, were rather to be accounted dishonorable than otherwise, both to the giuer and the receiuer.<sup>19</sup>

In the play Edward, unsolicited, bestows honors and wealth upon Gaveston,<sup>20</sup> and gives his own niece in marriage to his friend. Thus, although Marlowe makes clear Gaveston's unworthiness, he pictures him as less crass and ignoble than Holinshed does.

In general, then, Marlowe omits from, rearranges, and adds to his source materials in such a way as to center attention upon the relationship between Edward and Gaveston and between Edward and the Spencers, and upon the results of that relationship.

The text of the play adds considerable support to the view that Marlowe wishes to emphasize the friendship elements. The language used by Edward and Gaveston is a case in point. The play opens with Gaveston's quoting from a letter he has received from Edward:

"My father is deceast; come, *Gaueston*,  
And share the kingdom with thy deerest friend" [ll. 1-2].

<sup>17</sup> Tzschaschel, *Marlowe's Edward II. und seine Quellen*, pp. 30, 31; Sir Sidney Lee, *DNB*, XXXVI, 184.

<sup>18</sup> Holinshed's *Chronicles* (London, 1807), II, 550. The references to the play are throughout to the edition by Briggs.

<sup>19</sup> *Chronicles*, II, 547.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. his similar generosity to the younger Spencer, ll. 1432-35.

He comments:

Sweete prince, I come; these, these thy amorous lines  
Might haue enforst me to haue swum from France,  
And like *Leander* gaspt vpon the sande,  
So thou wouldst smile and take me in thy armes  
. . . . .  
The king, vpon whose bosome let me die  
And with the world be still at enmitie [ll. 6-15].

When the two meet, Edward greets him enthusiastically:

What, *Gaueston*, welcome! kis not my hand,  
Embrace me, *Gaueston*, as I do thee.  
Why shouldst thou kneele? Knowest thou not who I am?  
Thy friend, thy selfe, another *Gaueston*.  
Not *Hilas* was more mourned of *Hercules*,  
Then thou hast beene of me since thy exile [ll. 140-45].

Edward refers to Gaveston as "my friend" (l. 148), "sweet friend" (ll. 161, 406, 434), "my deerest *Gaueston*" (l. 367), "my *Gaueston*" (ll. 373, 462), "him I loue" (l. 388), "sweete *Gaueston*" (l. 402), etc. The queen describes his love for Gaveston thus:

He claps his cheekes, and hanges about his neck,  
Smiles in his face, and whispers in his eares,  
And when I come, he frownes, as who should say,  
Go whether thou wilt, seeing I haue *Gaueston* [ll. 258-61].

When Gaveston is exiled, they exchange pictures (l. 421) and the king weeps at the parting (l. 430); the king mourns his absence, and, when he is recalled from exile, is in ecstasy. Later, when Edward wreaks vengeance upon the nobles who killed Gaveston, he declares it is

. . . for the murther of my deerest friend,  
To whome right well you knew our soule was knit,  
Good *Pierce* of *Gaueston*, my sweet fauoret,  
A, rebels, recreants, you made him away [ll. 1513-16].

Similarly, "sweet *Spencer*" appears when the king addresses him (ll. 1908, 1931, 1946) and love for him is evident, though Marlowe devotes much less space to him than to Gaveston.

The use of such endearing terms seems extravagant and unreal to modern readers; but it is unnecessary to find any other explanation for them than the background furnished by friendship literature pre-

vious to Marlowe. Passionate actions and terms are used to portray devoted friendships; the type of language associated today with love and lovers appears in sixteenth-century friendship situations. The origin of that fact is to be found in Greek philosophy: with the philosophers—Plato particularly—friendship is the general and specific force corresponding to love in modern thought, and such phrases as “a friend is another myself” and “friends are one soul in two bodies” are common.<sup>21</sup> The humanistic element in the English Renaissance caused much stress to be placed on the classical theories about friendship; that fact accounts largely for the Elizabethan passion for friendship of which Phelps speaks.<sup>22</sup> The endearing terms in friendship stories result from the glorification of the passion in philosophy and literature; Marlowe has merely borrowed from such literature that means of presenting Edward and Gaveston as devoted friends; and Elizabethans understood the method better than most readers of Marlowe do today.

The following illustrations will make clear the method. Lydgate's *Fabula duorum mercatorum* is a story of two merchants who became good friends, by report of each other, before they met. Eventually the merchant of Baldac had an opportunity to visit the Egyptian merchant. Lydgate, in saying,

Whan that he [merchant of Baldac] was arryved vnto londe,  
For ioye him thoughte, he was in paradys;  
For euery love may weel vndirstonde,  
That of frenship the moost sovereyn blys  
Is for to be withouten any mys  
In thilke place, wher rottid is his herte,  
For to relese of love his peynes smerte,<sup>23</sup>

describes friendship in terms that might well be used in love situations. The story of Titus and Gysippus as told by Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Governour* (1531)<sup>24</sup> contains endearing terms and actions: Titus called Gysippus “my dere and moste louynge frende,” Gysippus called Titus

<sup>21</sup> For a thorough discussion of friendship theories among the classical philosophers, see L. Dugas, *L'amitié antique* (Paris, 1894; rev. ed., 1914).

<sup>22</sup> Christopher Marlowe, p. 22. The development of this interest is traced in the writer's dissertation mentioned above, n. 11.

<sup>23</sup> Ll. 106-12. The poem, edited by Gustav Schleich from the literary remains of J. Zupitza, is printed in *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXXIII (1897), 1-45.

<sup>24</sup> Book II, chap. xii.

"my swete frende," and the two often referred to each other as "dere frende" and "louyng frende"; when Titus fell in love with the maiden Gysippus expected to marry, "Gysippus, as he were there with nothyng astonied or discontented, with an assured countenance and mery regarde, imbrasinge Titus and kysynge him, answered. . . ."<sup>25</sup> Arrangements were made for Titus to marry the maiden, and Gysippus "sware and protested, that with free and glad will he wolde that this thinge shulde be in fourme aforesaide accomplisshed, and therewith inbraced and swetely kyssed Titus."<sup>26</sup> In Lyly's *Euphues and Euphues and his England* the two friends, Euphues and Philautus, are loving and devoted to each other (except when they quarrel); in the latter book the friends part, as Euphues returns home; Euphues says to Philautus: "Certify me of thy proceedings by thy letters; and think that Euphues cannot forget Philautus, who is as dear to me as myself." Lyly adds, "So after many millions of embracings, at the last they departed."<sup>27</sup> Fervently enthusiastic language appears in Greene's *Ciceronis amor* (1589), and in Lodge's *Euphues shadowe*, which, published in 1592, may have appeared after the composition of *Edward II*, but which illustrates well the contemporary use of extravagant terms in friendship stories.

In plays such as *Damon and Pithias* (1571) and *Endimion* (presented in 1586) and in the lyric poetry of the period the love of friends is expressed in terms that are heightened and fervent. Frequent is the thought that friends are one, as in Grimald's "Of frendship":

Behold thy friend, and of thy self the pattern see:  
One soull, a wonder shall it seem, in bodies twain to bee.<sup>28</sup>

In *Damon and Pithias*, Pithias says to his friend:

For why is it said, *Amicus alter ipse*,  
But that true friends should be two in body, but one in mind,  
As it were, one transformed into another? Which against kind  
Though it seem, yet, in good faith, when I am alone  
I forget I am Pithias, methink I am Damon.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *The Governour* ("Everyman's library" ed.), p. 170.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>27</sup> *Euphues and Euphues and his England*, ed. Croll and Clemons (London, 1916), pp. 413, 414.

<sup>28</sup> *The life and poems of Nicholas Grimald*, ed. L. R. Merrill (New Haven, 1925), p. 302. The poem appeared in Tottel's *Miscellany*.

<sup>29</sup> Ll. 332-36, in *Chief pre-Shakespearean dramas*, ed. J. Q. Adams (Boston, 1924).

Such endearing terms and the repetition of the idea of personal identity (cf. King Edward's "Thy friend, thy selfe, another *Gaueston*") show that Marlowe was merely using the conventional means of depicting friendship.<sup>30</sup>

That Marlowe was acquainted with friendship stories is proved by phrases and references in his earlier plays. In *Tamburlaine*, Part I, Mycetes, the king of Persia, honors his counselor Meander by praising his advice in warm words:

Full true thou speakst, & like thy selfe my lord  
Whom I may tearme a *Damon* for thy love.<sup>31</sup>

*Tamburlaine* himself, before he reveals his true nature, pledges himself firmly to Theridamus (I, ii, 423-27), whom he has won with words, and introduces him to others, saying of them:

These are my friends in whom I more reioice,  
Than dooth the King of Persea in his Crowne:  
And by the loue of *Pyllades* and *Orestes*,  
Whose statues we adore in *Scythia*,  
Thy selfe and them shall neuer part from me,  
Before I crowne you Kings in *Asia* [I, ii, 436-41].

In *The Jew of Malta* Barabas pretends to treat *Ithamore* as a friend:

O *Ithamore* come neere;  
Come neere, my loue, come neare thy masters life,  
My trusty seruant, nay, my second self [ll. 1315-17].

When *Ithamore* promises to do anything whatsoever for his master, Barabas continues:

O trusty *Ithimore*; no seruant, but my friend;  
I here adopt thee for mine only heire,  
All that I haue is thine when I am dead,  
And whilst I liue vse halfe: spend as my selfe;  
Here take my keyes, I'le giue 'em thee anon [ll. 1344-48].

<sup>30</sup> The frequent appearance of such terms in the drama later than Marlowe proves nothing as to Marlowe, but this reference to it will indicate that he was merely one of many dramatists who used the convention. That Isabella and the barons refuse to regard Edward's love in a way favorable to the king is shown by their use of the word "minion" (ll. 133, 274, 381, 492, 604, 684, 803, 945, 1118) and by their references to his "doting" (ll. 257, 474-75, 479, 682). Edward himself uses "favorite" once (l. 1515) and "minion" only once (l. 324), but not in a disparaging sense. Indeed, it is possible that "being my minion" may mean "though he were my minion" and thus be equal to "were he a peasant." For the concessive use of the present participle, see Maetzner's *English grammar*, trans. Grece (London, 1874), III, 67. The fact that Edward nowhere else uses "minion" may indicate that he is not here referring to his friend by that term, but setting up a hypothetical case. He refers to Gaveston as "friend" ten times.

<sup>31</sup> Ll. 57-58, *Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford, 1910), p. 10.



In these lines, however, Barabas mocks Ithamore by adding reservations to the last three offers to share his wealth.

In *Edward II* itself there are allusions that show Marlowe's acquaintance with classical friendship stories:

Great *Alexander* loude *Ephestion*,  
The conquering *Hercules* for *Hilas* wept,<sup>32</sup>  
And for *Patroclus* sterne *Achillis* droopt;  
And not kings onelie, but the wisest men:  
The Romaine *Tullie* loued *Octauis*,  
Graue *Socrates*, wilde *Alcibiades* [ll. 685-90].

In the classical discussions of friendship the sharing of property is a constant element. According to Aristotle, for example, "The proverbial saying, 'Friends' goods are common goods' is right, as friendship depends upon association."<sup>33</sup> The thought is evident in Elyot's story of Titus and Gysippus; when Gysippus is discovered, poverty-stricken, in Rome, Titus offers to share his wealth.<sup>34</sup> In Surrey's translation of the fourth chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, he says:

Than gan I thus resolute, "More pleasant is the lyef  
Of faythefull frends that spend their goods in commune,  
with out stryfe."<sup>35</sup>

In Painter's *Palace of pleasure* (1566) there is in the story "Of a Ialouse Gentleman" a pair of friends "which from the tyme of theyr youthe lyued in sutehe great and perfect amitie, as there was betwene them but one harte, one bed, one house, one table, and one purse." Even when one of the friends married, "their goodes were common betwene them."<sup>36</sup>

In view of the fact that the sharing of possessions is elementary and common in friendship thought, Edward's bestowing upon Gaveston wealth and honors is understandable. In his letter summoning Gaveston to return from exile, he invites him to

come, *Gauveston*,  
And share the kingdom with thy deerest friend [ll. 1-2].

<sup>32</sup> Cf. l. 144.

<sup>33</sup> *Nic. Ethics*, Book VIII, chap. xi, trans. J. E. C. Welldon (London, 1906), p. 264.

<sup>34</sup> *The Governour*, p. 183.

<sup>35</sup> *The poems of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey*, ed. F. M. Padelford (Seattle, 1920), p. 88.

<sup>36</sup> *The palace of pleasure*, ed. Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), II, 104. Cf. Nathaniel Woodes' *The conflict of conscience* (1581), Dodsley, *A select collection of old plays*, VI, 60.

Immediately upon Gaveston's presenting himself he is honored by Edward:

I heere create thee Lord high Chamberlaine,  
Cheefe Secretarie to the state and me,  
Earle of Cornewall, king and lord of Man [ll. 154-56],

and is told:

Thy woorth, sweet friend, is far aboue my guifts,  
Therefore, to equall it, receiue my hart.  
If for these dignities thou be enuied,  
Ile giue thee more; for but to honour thee  
Is Edward pleazd with kinglie regiment.  
Fearst thou thy person? thou shalt haue a guard:  
Wants thou gold? go to my treasure:  
Wouldst thou be loude and fearde? receiue my seale,  
Saue or condemne, and in our name commaund,  
What so thy minde affectes or fancie likes [ll. 161-70].

When the barons banish Gaveston, Edward makes him governor of Ireland (l. 419). And upon his next return from exile, Edward honors him with marriage to the late Duke of Gloucester's daughter, the king's own niece. In a similar manner Edward bestows upon the younger Spencer, at Spencer's first coming to him, the earldom of Wiltshire (l. 1337), and later accepts him in Gaveston's place and shares honors with him:

And in this place of honor and of trust,  
*Spencer*, sweet *Spencer*, I adopt thee heere,  
And meere of our loue we do create thee  
Earle of Gloster, and lord Chamberlaine,  
Despite of times, despite of enemies [ll. 1431-35].

Edward is fulfilling one condition of the classical views on friendship, proverbial even by Aristotle's time: *Inter amicos omnia sunt communia*. Since Gaveston is not wealthy, the sharing goes in only one direction; but Edward, it should be emphasized, honors him voluntarily and freely.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> This theme also is found later than Marlowe; it appears again and again in the drama, and is carried to its logical conclusion—though necessarily in burlesque—in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Coxcomb*.

Edward's generosity to Gaveston and the Spencers might be considered as merely the lavishness of a king to favorites were it not for the friendship terms used (see ll. 2, 161-62, 1432-33) and the presence in the play of the other elements of the friendship theme. That Edward thinks he is fully repaid for all his gifts is clear from his answer to young Mortimer's question, "Why should you loue him, whome the world hates so?" The answer is, "Because he loues me more then all the world" (ll. 370-71).

Another situation common in friendship narratives is based on the desire of a person to save his friend even by sacrifice of himself. It is prominent in the Orestes-Pylades story; Cicero speaks of the applause given to the scene, in Pacuvius' play, where Pylades declares that he is Orestes in order that he may, by being executed, save Orestes' life; Orestes, likewise, insists that he himself is Orestes, to prevent Pylades' death.<sup>38</sup> The familiar substitution scene in the Damon-Pythias story is an illustration; it is prominent in Edwards' *Damon and Pythias*. The Orestes-Pylades type of rivalry forms the final scene in Sidney's *Arcadia*. The situation is so well known in friendship stories that it needs little discussion. It is apparent in *Edward II* in Edward's constant braving the enmity of the barons to protect Gaveston, and more particularly in his final attempt to save Spencer and Baldock, who have been arrested for high treason:

Comes Leister then in *Isabellas* name  
To take my life, my companie from me?  
Here, man, rip vp this panting brest of mine,  
And take my heart, in reskew of my friends [ll. 1900-1903].

When later he has been subjected to indignities and terrible hardships, he is still faithful:

O *Gaueston*, it is for thee that I am wrongd;  
For me, both thou and both the *Spencers* died;  
And for your sakes a thousand wrongs ile take.  
The *Spencers* ghostes, where euer they remaine,  
Wish well to mine; then tush, for them ile die [ll. 2269-73].

A very significant modification of the historical facts as set forth by Holinshed is the bringing forward to an early place in the play of the Isabella-Mortimer relationship.<sup>39</sup> What Marlowe does is to invite the spectators to consider, early in the play, the friendship versus love complications ensuing upon Edward's infatuation with Gaveston, partly to show how strong Edward's attachment to Gaveston is, and partly to prepare for Isabella's affair with Mortimer later. To see just what justification there is for that shift, it is necessary again to review an aspect of the friendship tradition.

With the emphasis in Greek ethics upon friendship between men rather than upon love between man and woman (corresponding with

<sup>38</sup> *De amicitia*, chap. vii.

<sup>39</sup> See above, p. 13.

the relatively low value placed upon love in Greek life), there was apparently little conflict between friendship and love. In the Orestes-Pylades and Damon-Pythias stories, love does not enter at all. With the rise in the position of woman and especially with the idealization of love accompanying chivalry, there was more likelihood that the two devotions should be in juxtaposition. So in the *Gesta Romanorum* story of the two knights, love yields to friendship. As told in the English version, the knight of Lombardy visited his friend, the knight of Baldak, and fell in love with his host's ward. When the host learned of it, he said to his guest:

pis damisell is coume of gentil kynrede, and I have norishid hir of a childe, for she shudde have ben my wyfe; neuertheles pou arte come from fer contrees, for grete fervente love pat hathe I-bene a-twene vs of longe tyme, and therfor I wouchesaf pat thow have hir to wyf; I shalle yeve to the with hir grete habundaunce of Richesse.<sup>40</sup>

Practically the same story is found in the *Disciplina clericalis* and in Lydgate's longer narrative, *Fabula duorum mercatorum*. The renunciation is central also in the story of Titus and Gysippus, as narrated by Boccaccio, Beroaldo, and Sir Thomas Elyot. In Elyot's version Titus falls in love with Gysippus' fiancée; when Gysippus discovers the fact, he says to his friend:

I confesse to you, Titus, I loue that mayden as moche as any wise man mought possible, and toke in her company more delite and pleasure than of all the treasure and landes that my father left to me, whiche ye knowe was right abundaunt. But nowe I perceyue-that the affection of loue towarde her surmounteth in you aboue measure, what, shal I thinke it of a wanton lust or sodayne appetite in you, whome I haue euer knowne of graue and sadde disposition, inclyned alway to honest doctrine, fleinge all vayne daliaunce and dishonest passetye? . . . Nay god forbode that in the frendshippe of Gysippus and Titus shulde happen any suspition, or that any fantasie shulde perce my hedde, whereby that honorable loue betwene us shulde be the moun-tenaunce of a crome perished. . . . Here I renounce to you clerely all my title and interest that I nowe haue or mought haue in that faire mayden. . . . The day appointed for our mariage approcheth; let us consult howe without difficultie ye may holy attayne your desires. . . . I force nat what payne that I abyde, so that ye, my frende Titus, may be saule, and pleasauntly enjoy your desires, to the increasinge of your felicitie.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *The early English versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Sidney J. H. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. No. XXXIII (London, 1879), p. 198.

<sup>41</sup> *The Governour*, Book II, chap. xii.

Thus Gysippus willingly gives up, with no hesitation whatever, his intended wife to his friend; friendship takes precedence over love immediately and decisively.

With the revived interest in the theories of friendship resulting from the exaltation of classical ideas in the Renaissance, the claims of friendship clashed with the emphasis upon love inherited from the Middle Ages and chivalry. Excellent expression of the conflict is found in Lyly's *Endymion*. Eumenides has the choice of rescuing his friend Endymion from his long sleep or of obtaining his loved Semele. He debates with himself, compares the claims of friendship and love, and, on the advice of Geron, decides in favor of friendship.<sup>42</sup>

There existed, then, in sixteenth-century literature the idea that, when the claims of friendship clash with those of love, friendship should be given precedence. It is that view which clarifies the relationship of Edward and Isabella. In his devotion to Gaveston, Edward slights his wife. She is unhappy; and, in order to regain Edward's affection, she procures Gaveston's recall after his first exile by the barons. Again her husband neglects her. Her dislike of Gaveston and the hostility of the barons form a bond of sympathy between Isabella and Mortimer; consequently preparation is thus given for the later *liaison* between them. And the joint opposition to Gaveston leads Edward to suspect that there is already, even before Gaveston's exile to Ireland, a clandestine affair between his wife and Mortimer; and, seconded by Gaveston, he speaks insultingly to her:

*Edw.* Fawne not on me, French strumpet, get thee gone.

*Qu.* On whom but on my husband should I fawne?

*Gau.* On *Mortimer*, with whom, vngentle Queene,—  
I say no more, iudge you the rest, my lord. . . .

*Edw.* Thou art too familiar with that *Mortimer*,  
And by thy meanes is *Gaueston* exilde [ll. 439-42, 448-49].

This situation is not, of course, parallel to the instances cited above. They do show, however, the traditional preference of friendship over love; and Edward's neglect of his wife as he devotes himself to Gaveston represents the same preference. Yet Edward is not in love with

<sup>42</sup> Act III, scene iv; ed. W. A. Neilson, *The chief Elizabethan dramatists* (Boston, 1911), p. 12.

friendship;<sup>43</sup> he does not pride himself upon imitating the classical theories; he is genuinely enamored of Gaveston; and Marlowe, in picturing that infatuation, uses the conventional methods of his day as a means of representing it. Besides, as already suggested, he thus prepares for the actual *liaison* between Isabella and Mortimer later in the play. For these reasons, then, Marlowe violates the historical sequence and gives an earlier and unhistorical rôle to the queen.<sup>44</sup>

To summarize: (1) the terms of endearment used between Edward and Gaveston are characteristic of friendship stories; (2) the sharing of goods and honors is a part of the tradition, and goes back to the philosophical discussions of friendship; (3) the substitution theme, briefly represented in the play, is common in the friendship tradition; and (4) Edward's neglect of the queen in his devotion to Gaveston is illuminated by the conventional exaltation of friendship over love. Use of these elements of the friendship theme can explain adequately the omissions from the chronicles observed in the play, and also the rearrangement of material kept and the addition of new details.

If Edward thus follows several of the classical and conventional views about friendship, why is it, then, that his attempt is unsuccessful, and that his yearning for intimate friends and the delights of companionship causes him not only to forfeit his crown but also to lose life itself? Again the solution may be found in the background of friendship ideas.<sup>45</sup>

Accompanying, in classical ethics, the discussion of the nature of friendship, there is much consideration of a corollary: the choice of

<sup>43</sup> Contrast the attitude of Antonio in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Coxcomb*:

"Ant. . . . We two will be—you would little think it; as famous for our friendship—  
Mer[curie]. How?

Ant. If [God] please, as ever Damon was, and Pytheas; or Pylades, and Orestes, or any  
two that ever were: do you conceive me yet?

Mer. No, by my troth, Sir . . .

Ant. You shall anon, and for our names, I think they shall live after us, and be remembered while there is a story; or [I] lose my alms" [II, I].

<sup>44</sup> W. D. Briggs remarks that "the early stages of this process [the *liaison* between Isabella and Mortimer] Marlowe depicts with skill and force, but the actual change from unconscious sympathy to adulterous love he has given little attention to." See *Edward II*, p. 125.

May not this fact be considered as an indication that Marlowe is utilizing the opposition between friendship and love found in previous stories, and that he is creating a play primarily about Edward, not about the queen and Mortimer?

<sup>45</sup> In answer to the objection that the death of Edward and the other events of the play are historical facts and therefore are not created by the dramatist, it must be emphasized that Marlowe has chosen from the numerous happenings of Edward's career those that show a cause-and-effect relationship. Cf. Briggs, *Edward II*, pp. c-cx.



friends. The desirability of common interests, the importance of taking time before finally approving the choice, the value of testing friends, and the imperative necessity of distinguishing between a real friend and a flatterer—these topics are touched upon or treated at length. Cicero avers that friendship demands absolute sincerity and constancy, and therefore flattery is the worst possible foe to friendship; it is a vice of fickle and wicked men, and is to be utterly avoided.<sup>46</sup> Plutarch has in the *Moralia* an essay "Of the friend and the flatterer," a discussion which Elyot used as a basis for his chapter "The election of frendes and the diuersite of flaterers" in *The Governour* (Book II, chap. xiv). In the non-dramatic poetry of the sixteenth century many warnings against flattery are given, and care in the choice of friends is advised.<sup>47</sup> It is obvious that King Edward does not have the ability to distinguish between worthy and unworthy companions; he fails to perceive the real character of Gaveston, a self-confessed flatterer:

I must have wanton Poets, pleasant wits,  
Musitians, that with touching of a string  
May draw the pliant king which way I please [ll. 51-53].

He makes no test of Gaveston but trusts him absolutely, and defends him against all the insinuations and open attacks of the barons; he even allows Gaveston to accuse Isabella of undue interest in Mortimer (ll. 441-48). He is likewise faithful to Spencer and Baldock,<sup>48</sup> after accepting them suddenly as successors to Gaveston, and defends them vigorously against the barons, who, in their hateful spite, oppose them as they previously opposed Gaveston. Little characterization is allotted Spencer and Baldock; but it is clear from their conversation after the death of their lord, the Earl of Gloucester, that they intend attaching themselves to the probable winner in the king-Mortimer struggle (ll. 718 ff.). Inability, then, to go slowly and choose carefully is one significant reason for Edward's unfortunate experiences in

<sup>46</sup> *De amicitia*, chap. xxv.

<sup>47</sup> See "No foe to a flatterer," "The fruites of fained frendes," and Edwards' own "Of a freend and a flatterer," in Edwards' *Paradise of dainty devices*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 67-68, 73, 105; also poems in Proctor's *A gorgeous gallery of gallant inuentions*, ed. Rollins (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 69, 86, 100.

<sup>48</sup> Marlowe gives less detail to Spencer and Baldock than to Gaveston, partly, it may be presumed, because, having established the importance of friendship in the play by emphasizing Gaveston, it is dramatically economical to allow a few details to suffice for a later situation of a similar kind.

friendship. Indeed, a definite statement to this effect is to be found in Holinshed.<sup>49</sup>

A second defect in Edward is not stated in so many words by Marlowe but is apparent. It lies in the fact that Edward is a king. Aristotle insists that equality of nature and circumstances is necessary before a real friendship can be founded. The friendship of superiors with inferiors, such as between a father and a son, an elder person and a younger, a god and a man, or a king and a subject, is of a different kind from that between equals.<sup>50</sup> Clearly Edward disregards altogether this fact; and the nature and intensity of his devotion, admirable as they would be under different circumstances, are quite unsuitable to a man in his position. Moreover, as a king, Edward owes his first duty to the state, and not to personal preferences. Cicero warns against letting friendship interfere with the duties and serviceableness of friends:

Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitia, ne intemperata quaedam benevolentia, quod persaepe fit, impediatur magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim, ut ad fabulas redeam, Troiam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem, apud quem erat educatus, multis cum lacrimis iter suum impediens audire voluisset. Et saepe incidunt magnae res, ut discedendum sit ab amicis; quas qui impedire vult, quod desiderium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura et ob eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum iustus.<sup>51</sup>

It is Edward's business as king to devote himself to his regal duties; instead, he immediately, upon his father's death, sends for Gaveston and apparently considers himself as beginning a long holiday with his favorite, his kingship serving only to supply wealth and honors to bestow upon him, and power to defend him against enemies. He even admits to Gaveston that fact:

for but to honour thee

Is Edward pleazd with kinglie regiment [ll. 164-65].

And as Edward does wrong to neglect his kingdom and to treat the public treasury as if it were his own, so Gaveston, to put it mildly, *infirmus est mollisque natura* to accept his favor under such conditions.

<sup>49</sup> "All these mischeefes and manie more happened not onlie to him, but also to the whole state of the realme, in that he wanted Iudgement and prudent discretion to make choise of sage and discreet counsellors, receiuing those into his fauour, that abused the same to their priuate gaine and aduantage, not respecting the aduancement of the common-wealth, so they might attaine to riches and honour, etc." (*Chronicles*, II, 587).

<sup>50</sup> *Nic. Eth.* VIII. viii, ix.

<sup>51</sup> *De amicitia*, chap. xx.

Though Marlowe does not include the numerous incidents of the chronicle that show the jealousy of the barons at the power of any king, it is obvious from their attitude in the play that they are opposed to Edward and are glad to seize upon his mistake as a basis for outspoken hostility.<sup>52</sup> Their immediate attack upon Spencer as soon as he succeeds Gaveston is a revealing sign of their position. They attack Edward on his weakest point—friendship,<sup>53</sup> and provoke him to indiscretions and rash acts which only cause him still more trouble. Edward comes to the throne at a time when a strong king is needed to put the barons in their places; he neglects his duties, is not concerned with state affairs (witness, for example, his lack of interest in ransoming the elder Mortimer [ll. 937 ff.]),<sup>54</sup> and gives himself up to the companionship of Gaveston. Such behavior, were he discreet in the choice of friends, would be enough to bring disaster; with both fundamental defects present, there is no difficulty in understanding why Edward, despite his earnest, sincere longing for friendship, is doomed to failure as a king and to personal disappointment and distress.

Edward's behavior and its results may, then, be accounted for when due consideration is given to Marlowe's use of various aspects of the friendship views—a system of ideas which, having their origin in classical doctrine, had been given by Marlowe's day conventional modes of expression.

Edward is a man of certain virtues and serious faults. His chief virtue is his loyalty to those whom he has chosen as friends; it is a genuine, absorbing loyalty and love, and it actuates his behavior on all occasions. Its effect upon others is admirably expressed by Miss Ellis-Fermor:

Edward has the power of inspiring undying affection in the men who come within the circle of his intimacy. Gaveston, Spencer and Baldock all begin their relations with Edward with a touch of "pollicie," and all end by standing by him to their deaths.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Mortimer's comments in ll. 280, 348-49, reveal his wishes. The jealousy of the barons is shown by their repeated references to Gaveston and the Spencers as upstarts (ll. 335, 578, 696, 700-712, 715-16, 817-18, 1227, 1453, 1492, 1500).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the similar tactics of Shylock in *The merchant of Venice* (I, iii) in his touching upon Antonio's weak side, his friendship for Bassanio. The barons do not jockey for position as Shylock does, but go directly to the point.

<sup>54</sup> He is aroused to action only when it is necessary to aid Gaveston or avenge his death. Then he is savage, yet capable.

<sup>55</sup> *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 113.

He is, in his undeviating loyalty to his friends, an uncompromising idealist, but shows the cruelty and the lack of practical wisdom that may accompany the highest idealism. His wife is a pathetic victim of that cruelty; his treatment of the barons when he does have the upper hand is less to be regretted. He is palpably inattentive to state affairs, and becomes energetic only in defense of his friends.

The situation at the outset is potentially tragic in that Edward, a man loving private life and its amenities, finds himself heir to a position that gives him wealth and power but which also involves great responsibility. His duties he disregards; the power and wealth he prizes only because through them he may give pleasure to his friends. The pathos of his situation is expressed by Edward himself when he is hiding with the monks and their abbot:

Father, this life contemplative is heaven.

O, that I might this life in quiet lead [ll. 1856-57].

But a quiet life cannot be his, even in a monastery; he is soon captured by pursuers, and before long put to death. Edward is a pathetic misfit; the tragedy of it all results partly from the contrast between his nature and the situation into which he is thrust. But he has his faults; he is wilful, and unwisely determined to cherish his friends (who do not merit it) and to devote himself to private pursuits (when state duties should be his first interest). And those faults are responsible for his disappointment and the horrible catastrophe. Consequently he is a tragic figure; the defects in a man of potential abilities produce his downfall; his passion for friendship, uncontrolled by reason and unmodified by the logic of his situation, destroys him.

There remains to be considered the place of *Edward II* in relation to Marlowe's other plays and to the development of tragedy. It is a commonplace of criticism that *Edward II* is not a one-man play like *Tamburlaine*, *Dr. Faustus*, and *The Jew of Malta*. A reason for the difference has been suggested in that Marlowe, writing *Edward II* for the Pembroke company, had in mind, not a star like Alleyn to fit, but a company "capable of good ensemble effects."<sup>56</sup> Granted that that be true, does it mean that in fundamental conception *Edward II* differs in every way from Marlowe's earlier dramas? The anonymous review-

<sup>56</sup> C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The life of Marlowe and the Tragedy of Dido Queen of Carthage* (London, 1930), p. 48.

er of Miss Ellis-Fermor's *Christopher Marlowe* in the *New statesman* reminds us that Marlowe was an Elizabethan, a man of the Renaissance, but admits that "in his choice of subjects he reveals his taste." "Clearly," he says, "the 'impassioned resolute man,' the daring and ambition that would achieve the impossible, laugh at God, and die for an idea or a Gaveston, did appeal to him."<sup>57</sup> It is immaterial whether Marlowe be considered as dramatizing ideas or passions; if ideas, they are pursued with such vigor and enthusiasm that they become passions, and the result is the same. Certainly friendship becomes in Edward II a passion,<sup>58</sup> and in that respect, then, *Edward II* is like *Tamburlaine*, *Dr. Faustus*, and *The Jew of Malta*, and there is no necessity for setting it apart from the other plays. It is one with them in the centrality of passion.<sup>59</sup>

Interpretation of *Edward II* as a friendship play, rather than as a chronicle history, places it much nearer to the Shakespearean tragedy than to the older, *casus* type, which the other tragedies by Marlowe somewhat resemble.<sup>60</sup> The *casus* formula as stated by Chaucer's monk—

Tragedie is to seyn a certeyn storie,  
As olde bookes maken us memorie,  
Of hym that stood in greet prosperitee  
And is y-fallen out of heigh degree  
Into miserie, and endeth wrecchedly—

does not explain *Edward II*; there is no attributing Edward's misery and death to Fortune and her wheel; cause and effect operate, and the

<sup>57</sup> XXVIII (1927), 770. Cf. Ellis-Fermor, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 29.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. II. 605-12:

"*Edw.* My heart is as an anull vnto sorrow,  
Which beates vpon it like the Cyclops hammers,  
And with the noise turnes vp my giddle braine,  
And makes me frantick for my *Gaueton*.  
*Ah*, had some bloudleasse furie rose from hell,  
And with my kingle scepter stroke me dead,  
When I was forst to leaue my *Gaueton*.  
*Lan. Diablo*, what passions call you these?"

<sup>59</sup> It should be remembered, too, that friendship necessitates relationship with others; it is not a "one-man" passion, like political power, knowledge, or wealth, which presuppose control over persons or things. Friendship implies the presence of others, not to dominate over, but to treat as equals, and consequently no dramatization of it can be based on the "one-man" formula. Cf. the relationship between idea and construction in Book IV of *The Faerie Queene*.

<sup>60</sup> They resemble the *casus* type in that the protagonist is suddenly cast down from his position of power. It is especially noticeable in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. *Tamburlaine* is struck down apparently by the gods; his downfall is not presented as the inevitable result of his previous behavior. Moreover, there are some references in the play to the Fates and Fortune (*The works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Brooke, II. 2321, 2385, 3137-42, 3760). Cf. also F. S. Boas, *Shakespeare and his predecessors* (London, 1896), p. 54.

tragic forces are shown to have their rise in Edward himself. Like Macbeth and Othello, Edward is, as stated above, a man of both capabilities and serious weaknesses; those weaknesses lead to the undermining of his position and to his final defeat and death. If there are influences of the *casus* type, they are to be found reflected in Edward's ruefulness at the thought of giving up his crown, and particularly in the sudden fall of Mortimer brought about by young Edward.<sup>61</sup> The pathetic scene in which the king clings to the crown may give the impression that Marlowe is studying in the play the nature of kingship, as Miss Ellis-Fermor believes, or as is expressed in Havelock Ellis' pointed comment, "*Edward II.* is a fiercely ironical response to Tamburlaine's supreme desire—'the sweet fruition of an early crown.'"<sup>62</sup> The abdication scene may, however, be regarded as necessary to enforce the results of Edward's failures as a king ensuing upon his devotion to personal friendships, and consequently as valuable dramatically. It reinforces Edward's whole behavior by showing poignantly the effects. Moreover, since Marlowe chooses to use as material for a play the reign of Edward II, it is an inevitable scene, as is the terrible scene of Edward's death, a scene which likewise gains its effect through contrast with Edward's course of life—his staunch devotion to friendship and his errors—rather than from the killing itself or from the fact that the murder is regicide.

The final scene, the punishment of Mortimer and Isabella, is also dramatically impressive. The contrast of the young Edward III as he begins his reign by attacking the most vital problem, with his father, who had begun his reign by turning at once to personal delights, is evidence for those who wish to regard the play as a study in kingship. But it may be sufficiently justified as a scene which any Elizabethan dramatizing the reign of Edward II might include because of its dramatic possibilities in itself, as a fulfilment of poetic justice, and, most important, as another opportunity, by means of the contrast itself, of emphasizing the tragedy of the great failure.

<sup>61</sup> Marlowe has Mortimer regard himself as the victim of Fortune. See II. 2160, 2362, 2540, and especially 2586-90:

"Base fortune, now I see that in thy wheele  
There is a point, to which when men aspire,  
They tumble hedlong downe; that point I touchte,  
And seeing there was no place to mount vp higher,  
Why should I greeue at my declining fall?"

<sup>62</sup> Marlowe ("*Mermaid series*"), p. xlv.

Shakespeare in his *Macbeth* and *Othello* period might have omitted the scene; but *Edward II* is a transition tragedy. Rather than wonder at Marlowe for including the scene, it would be more critical to credit him with turning definitely from the *casus* type of structure to the type which Shakespeare glorified later. That turning we may see in Marlowe's treatment of Edward in the matter of friendship.

In conclusion, it may be reiterated that it is not adequate to interpret *Edward II* as a mere chronicle play of the survey type (Briggs makes that clear); nor, on the other hand, is it necessary to think of it as a play intended to go with others of Marlowe's (two of which are not, after all, certainly his) as a study in kingship, or, again, as a play designed to influence contemporary political opinion. It is at least thinkable that Marlowe, desiring to write another play dealing with an Elizabethan passion, chose, as a means of picturing that passion, the story of Edward II as told by Holinshed, and omitted, combined, and introduced materials to suit. It is possible that the dramatic effectiveness of *Edward II*, realized by all readers of the play, may be explained by the dramatist's use in the tragedy of the Elizabethan friendship ideas.

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# THE SOURCE OF JAMES THOMSON'S "THE WORKS AND WONDERS OF ALMIGHTY POWER"

THE fragmentary poem, "The works and wonders of almighty power," ascribed to James Thomson, first appeared in 1724 in the *Plain dealer*, No. 46, edited and published by William Bond and Aaron Hill. The poem is said to have been given by Thomson to Hill, who was responsible for its publication.<sup>1</sup> Though Bond and Hill are supposed to have edited the *Plain dealer* alternately, we may assume that No. 46 was edited by Hill, since there is a reference by the editor in this issue to his having traveled extensively in his youth,<sup>2</sup> a fact true of Hill but not of Bond.<sup>3</sup> Hill published the poem as a bit of evidence to show that polite learning was then flourishing in Edinburgh.<sup>4</sup> The author, he said, was a member of the Grotesque Club of the University of Edinburgh,<sup>5</sup> but the poem had been written in the author's fourteenth year.<sup>6</sup> Assuming that Thomson was the author and that Hill was correct concerning the period of composition, Thomson, if he wrote the poem after becoming a student in Edinburgh University, would have had to write it in the summer of 1715 before his fifteenth birthday arrived in September. The composition, therefore, must have preceded its publication by nine years.

In introducing the poem to the public Hill wrote as follows:

To how surprising a Degree these fine Spirits have succeeded, in their noble End, let the following Sentiments declare; conceiv'd, and express'd, with all the Clearness, Depth, and Strength, of an *experient'd Philosopher*, by a Member of this *Grotesque Club*, who was in his *Fourteenth Year only*, when he compos'd, in Blank Verse, a Poem, now in my Hands; and founded on a Supposition of the Author's sitting, a whole Summer Night, in a Garden, looking upward, and quite losing himself, in Contemplation on *the Works, and Wonders, of Almighty Power*.—If this was a Subject, naturally above the Capacity of so very a Boy, to what a Degree does it increase our Wonder, when we find it treated, in this Masterly Manner!<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The poetical works of James Thomson* (Boston, 1863), I, 28 n.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Plain dealer* (2d ed.; London, 1734), I, 393.

<sup>3</sup> See *DNB*, arts. "Aaron Hill" and "William Bond."

<sup>4</sup> *Plain dealer*, I, 393-94.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 394.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Hill does not state, so far as I have been able to discover, that Thomson was the author of the poem, nor does he tell us when the piece came into his possession. The poem as printed in J. Logie Robertson's Oxford edition of the *Complete poetical works of James Thomson*, pp. 483-84, varies in a few details from the text of the *Plain dealer*, which I follow here.

The wonder, however, is considerably lessened when it is observed that the poem, almost *in toto*, is a metrical rendering of a number of passages in Shaftesbury's *Moralists, a philosophical rhapsody* (1709).<sup>8</sup> The extent and character of the indebtedness may be seen in the following parallels:

## THOMSON

Gladly, I would declare, in lofty  
 Strains,  
 The Power of Godhead, to the Sons  
 of Men.  
 But Thought is lost, in its Immensity!  
 Imagination wastes its Strength in  
 vain:  
 And Fancy tires, and turns within  
 itself,  
 Struck, with the amazing Depths of  
 Deity [ll. 7-12]!

## SHAFTESBURY

Thy [God's] being is boundless, unsearchable, impenetrable. In thy immensity all thought is lost, fancy gives over its flight, and wearied imagination spends itself in vain, finding no coast nor limit of this ocean, nor, in the widest tract through which it soars, one point yet nearer the circumference than the first centre whence it parted. Thus having oft essayed, thus sallied forth into the wide expanse, when I return again within myself, struck with the sense of this so narrow being and of the fulness of that immense one, I dare no more behold the amazing depths nor sound the abyss of Deity.<sup>9</sup>

—Ah! my lov'd God! in vain, a tender Youth,  
 Unskill'd, in Arts of deep Philosophy,  
 Attempts to search the bulky Mass of Matter:  
 To trace the Rules of Motion: and pursue  
 The Phantom Time, too subtle, for his Grasp!  
 Yet may I, from thy most apparent Works,  
 Form some Idea of their wondrous Author;  
 And celebrate thy Praise, with rapt'rous Mind [ll. 13-20].

But 'tis in vain for us to search the bulky mass of matter, seeking to know its nature; how great the whole itself, or even how small its parts. . . . If, knowing only some of the rules of motion, we seek to trace it further, 'tis in vain we follow it into the bodies it has reached. . . . In vain, too, we pursue that phantom time, too small and yet too mighty for our grasp. . . . All Nature's wonders serve to excite and perfect this idea of their author.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The fact escaped the attention of C. A. Moore, who quotes from the fragment in his "Shaftesbury and the ethical poets in England, 1700-1760," *PMLA*, XXXI (1916), 283.

<sup>9</sup> *Characteristica*, ed. J. M. Robertson (London, 1900), II, 98.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12, *passim*.

How can I gaze upon yon sparkling Vault,  
 And view the Planets, rolling in their Spheres,  
 Yet be an Atheist!—Can I see those Stars,  
 And think of others, far beyond my Ken,  
 Yet want Conviction of creating Power?  
 What, but a Being, of immense Perfection,  
 Cou'd through unbounded Spaces, thus, dispose  
 Such [*orig.* *Suth*] num'rous Bodies,  
 All, presumptive Worlds [ll. 21–28]

Where shall I trace the Sources of the Light?  
 What Seats assign to th' Element of Fire,  
 That, unconfin'd, thro' all the Systems, breaks [ll. 32–34]!

Besides the neighboring planets . . . what multitudes of fixed stars did we see sparkle not an hour ago in the clear night, which yet had hardly yielded to the day? How many others are discovered by the help of art? Yet how many remain still beyond the reach of our discovery! Crowded as they seem, their distance from each other is as unmeasurable by art as is the distance between them and us. Whence we are naturally taught the immensity of that being who, through these immense spaces, has disposed such an infinity of bodies, belonging each (as we may well presume) to systems as complete as our own world, since even the smallest spark of this bright galaxy may vie with this our sun, which shining now full out, gives us new life, exalts our spirits, and makes us feel divinity more present.<sup>11</sup>

But whither shall we trace the sources of the light? or in what ocean comprehend the luminous matter so wide diffused through the immense spaces which it fills? What seats shall we assign to that fierce element of fire, too active to be confined within the compass of the sun, and not excluded even the bowels of the heavy earth?<sup>12</sup>

The poem ends with these three lines:

But, 'tis too much for my weak Mind to know:  
 Teach me, with humble Reverence to adore  
 The Mysteries, I must not comprehend!

Had Thomson retained this passive and contemplative attitude toward nature, he would have certainly been a Shaftesburian in spirit,

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

for the Earl of Shaftesbury, under the influence of the Cambridge Platonists and the classical moralists, had little sympathy with the scientific rationalists who were trying to pry into nature's secrets.<sup>13</sup> But Thomson's contact with the Newtonian philosophy during his long stay at the University of Edinburgh<sup>14</sup> influenced his attitude toward Nature profoundly. By 1727 he was expressing a keen desire "to peruse the broad, illumin'd page" of Nature, and was praising "serene Philosophy" for its "effusive source of evidence, and truth."<sup>15</sup> The same year saw the publication of his poem on Sir Isaac Newton, which voiced his continued interest in scientific investigation, and in 1730 we find him still yearning to be enriched with the knowledge of Nature's works.<sup>16</sup> To overlook this interest of Thomson in order to establish the thesis of his Shaftesburian discipleship is to interpret his philosophic attitude toward the world-order in the light of his youthful piece, "The works and wonders of almighty Power," rather than in the light of his later and more mature utterances upon the subject.

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 8, 253, 255. His contemplative attitude, which the concluding lines of Thomson's fragment echo, is expressed *ibid.*, pp. 66-67, 113-14, and *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> My article, "James Thomson's contact with Newtonianism," *PMLA*, XLIX (1934), 71-80, discusses the prevalence of Newtonian philosophy at the University of Edinburgh.

<sup>15</sup> *Summer* (1727), ll. 176-80, 1076 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Autumn* (1730), ll. 1248-58.

## KEATS AND THE PERIODICALS OF HIS TIME

SOME very good ink has already been employed in estimating the indelibility of the water in which—or on which—John Keats thought his name was written. His friend Joseph Severn published an article on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Sir Sidney Colvin and Amy Lowell have written somewhat at length on the matter in their biographies. Other writers have touched upon it more briefly and incidentally.<sup>2</sup> Yet the appearance of Miss Cornelius' article in 1925 with its reprint of two favorable reviews of a volume which Miss Lowell, industriously as she had delved, supposed to have received "only one small notice,"<sup>3</sup> indicated clearly that the tale had not yet been adequately told.

The writers of this article, working independently (Mr. White with most valuable assistance from his wife), have found a number of reviews of Keats's works in the periodicals of his time that seem to have been previously unnoticed or inaccurately noticed. Moreover, the information even about previously known comments is so scattered that it seems desirable to present in one place a list, not only of reviews, but of incidental remarks about Keats and publications of poems by him in the periodicals from 1816 through 1821. Though it is scarcely to be expected that the list is complete, the independent searches of which it is a result were thorough enough to give hope that not much has escaped. Reviews or comments here noticed for the first time (so far as the writers are aware) are indicated by asterisks and discussed in more detail than the others.

MAY 5, 1816. Leigh Hunt's *Examiner*, page 282.

The earliest-known publication of anything by Keats—the sonnet, "O Solitude," etc., signed "J. K."

<sup>1</sup> "Vicissitudes of Keats's fame," *Atlantic monthly*, XI (1863), 401-7.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., J. P. Anderson in his bibliography appended to W. M. Rossetti's *John Keats* (1887); Edmund Blunden in *Shelley and Keats as they struck their contemporaries* (1925); H. B. Forman in his various editions of Keats; Barnette Miller in *Leigh Hunt's relations with Byron, Shelley, and Keats* (1910); Roberta D. Cornelius in "Two early reviews of Keats's first volume," *PMLA*, XL (1925), 193-211; A. E. Hancock in *John Keats: a literary biography* (1908).

<sup>3</sup> *John Keats*, I, 273.

OCTOBER, 1816. *European magazine*, LXX, 365.

G. F. M[athew]'s verses "To a poetical friend" (Keats), reprinted by Miss Cornelius.<sup>4</sup>

DECEMBER 1, 1816. *Examiner*, page 761.

Hunt's well-known flattering introduction of Keats to the public in an article on "Young poets," with citation of "On first looking into Chapman's Homer."

FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1817. *Examiner*, pages 107, 124, 155, 173.

The following sonnets by Keats (the first one from *Poems*, 1817; the others first printed in the *Examiner*): "To Kosciusko" (February 16); "After dark vapors," etc. (February 23); the Elgin Marble sonnets to Haydon (March 9); the sonnet on "The flower and the leaf" (March 16).

MARCH 9, 1817. *Champion*.

A very flattering review of *Poems*.<sup>5</sup>

\*APRIL, 1817. *Monthly magazine*, XLIII, 248.

A short notice of *Poems*, as follows: "A small volume of poems, by Mr. Keats, has appeared; and it well deserves the notice it has attracted, by the sweetness and beauty of the composition. For the model of his style, the author has had recourse to the age of Elizabeth; and, if he has not wholly avoided the quaintness that characterizes the writings of that period, it must be allowed by every candid reader that the fertile fancy and beautiful diction of our old poets, is not unfrequently rivaled [*sic*] by Mr. Keats. There is in his poems a rapturous glow and intoxication of the fancy—an air of careless and profuse magnificence in his diction—a revelry of the imagination and tenderness of feeling, that forcibly impress themselves on the reader."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *PMLA*, XL, 208-9.

<sup>5</sup> This is the review already mentioned as reprinted by Miss Cornelius in *PMLA* for 1925. It was again reprinted by John M. Turnbull, with no mention of *PMLA*, in the *London mercury* of February, 1929 (XIX, 384-94). Miss Cornelius suggested that Haydon was the author of the review; but Maurice Buxton Forman in his edition of *The letters of John Keats* (Oxford University Press [1931]), I, 13, mentions the belief of Mr. Turnbull that John Hamilton Reynolds wrote it. Reynolds was on the staff of the *Champion* at the time, and Keats's earliest-known letter to him, dated on a Sunday evening in March, 1817, is a note of thanks for kind criticism—why not the *Champion's* review of the same day? Yet another suggestion, by Walter Graham (*English literary periodicals*, p. 280), that John Scott was the author of "some discerning criticisms of Wordsworth and Keats in the *Champion* between 1814 and 1817," may be based only on the fact that Scott was the editor of that journal. Certainly an article on Wordsworth in the *Champion* of December 10, 1815, and a few weeks later a sonnet on Wordsworth, were by Reynolds. See Nos. 9 and 12 in Marsh's "The writings of Keats's friend Reynolds," *Studies in philology*, XXV (1928), 492-93.

<sup>6</sup> Amy Lowell (*John Keats*, I, 273) quotes the last sentence of this comment, but makes the mistake of crediting it to the *Monthly review* (not magazine).



MAY, 1817. *European magazine*, LXXI, 434-37.

An appreciative review of *Poems*,<sup>7</sup> in all probability by Keats's friend Mathew.

JUNE 1, JULY 6 AND 13, 1817. *Examiner*, pages 345, 428, 443.

Leigh Hunt's always friendly discussion of *Poems*.

AUGUST 7, 1817. *Champion*.

First known publication of Keats's sonnet "On the sea," which he had sent to Reynolds with his letter of April 17.

SEPTEMBER, 1817. *Eclectic review* (N.S.), VIII, 267.

An extensive review of *Poems*, composed almost equally of praise and blame.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1817. *Examiner*, page 599.

Reprint of Keats's sonnet "On the grasshopper and the cricket" (with Hunt's on the same subject).

OCTOBER, 1817. *Constable's Edinburgh magazine* (= *Scots magazine* [N.S.]), I, 254-57.

A not unfriendly review of *Poems*, though the influence of Hunt is reproved.

\*OCTOBER, 1817. *Monthly repository*, XII, 623.

Another reprint of Keats's and Hunt's sonnets "On the grasshopper and the cricket."

OCTOBER, 1817. *Blackwood's Edinburgh magazine*, II, 38-41.

The first of the famous series of articles "On the Cockney school of poetry," directed against Hunt, but headed by lines from Cornelius Webb in which Keats is mentioned.<sup>8</sup>

1818. Leigh Hunt's translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, dedicated to Keats.

1818. *Annals of the fine arts*, III, 171-72.

Reprint of Keats's sonnets to Haydon on the Elgin Marbles.

APRIL, 1818. *Quarterly review*, XIX, 204-8.

Croker's famous hostile review of *Endymion*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted by Miss Cornelius in the same article with the *Champion's* review.

<sup>8</sup> In this series of articles and other parts of the same magazine, there are so many incidental mentions of Keats—nearly always contemptuously jocular—that it seems best to give at this point a list of all except those which are extensive or important enough for separate listing later. There are, then, the following rather casual mentions of Keats in *Blackwood's*: II, 194, 415; III, 197, 199, 533; IV, 476, 486; V, 97, 640; VI, 70, 75-76, 236, 239-40, 243; IX, 245. This last is a death notice (May, 1821).

<sup>9</sup> Though dated April, this number of the *Quarterly* was not issued until September (Amy Lowell, *John Keats*, II, 85). *Endymion* was not published until May.

\*MAY 9, 1818. *Yellow Dwarf*,<sup>10</sup> page 151.

The "Hymn to Pan" from *Endymion*.

\*MAY 17 AND 24, 1818. *Literary journal*,<sup>11</sup> I, 114, 131.

An elaborate review of *Endymion*, so long and consisting so largely of citations that we shall mainly summarize. "In this poetizing age," said the reviewer, "we are led to look with an eye of suspicion on every work savouring of rhyme." He took up this volume in that spirit, and continued suspicious through the first thirty lines; but then "we began to elevate our critical eyebrows, and exclaim, 'And this is poetry.'" "The admiration we felt at the beautiful simplicity of the following lines [Book I, ll. 34-62 quoted] amply compensated for any previous defects in the versification." After a brief suggestion of the plot, seventy-nine lines beginning with I, 578, are quoted, followed soon by forty-three more (I, 929 ff.), which are said to resemble the Arabian tales. A still longer passage of over a hundred lines from Book II (670 ff.) is quoted because "written with a warmth of feeling, and a tenderness of expression, we seldom find exceeded even in some of our most popular poets." Several other, shorter citations follow, demonstrating that this reviewer—unlike some others—went through the whole poem. He comments on the fact that the meter resembles that of Hunt's *Story of Rimini*, "though many of the faults so justly attributed to that author have been avoided in the present work. Indeed, with the exception of two passages, we are induced to give our most unqualified approbation of this poem." The first of these two passages—

the sleeping kine,  
Couch'd in thy brightness, dream of fields divine—

is declared to be both ridiculous and impious. The other—also very brief and in the light of the comment not worth quoting—the reviewer disagrees with because "genius, like that possessed by Mr. Keats, may with safety venture in the highest walk of poetry."

JUNE, 1818. *British critic* (N.S.), IX, 649-54.

A contemptuously jocular review of *Endymion*.

JUNE 6, 1818. *Oxford herald*.

Bailey's well-known favorable article on *Endymion*.

<sup>10</sup> This was a short-lived weekly published by John Hunt during part of 1818. Hazlitt and Reynolds were among the contributors.

<sup>11</sup> A weekly periodical started March 29, 1818, by J. Limbird, with the following as its full title: *Literary journal and general miscellany of sciences, arts, etc.* In the British Museum file there are two volumes with this title, the second ending with the issue of May 8, 1819; but on May 22, 1819, the same publisher began issuing the *Literary chronicle and weekly review*, which continued until 1828. Both *Journal* and *Chronicle* were evidently intended to compete with the *Literary gazette*, which William Jerdan had started in 1817.

\*JUNE 7, 1818. *Champion*, page 362.

In spite of Miss Cornelius' discovery some ten years ago of the *Champion's* review of *Poems*, there has been no definite notice of the same Sunday newspaper's comments on *Endymion*—this, in all probability, by the editor, John Scott.<sup>12</sup> The *Champion* has delayed its review intentionally so as not to injure *Endymion* with the "great critical authorities" by espousing its cause. This writer asks for fair reviews on sound principles; cares not two straws for public opinion; doubts if *Endymion* can ever be popular because its very excellence "will tell against" it; makes comparison of Keats with the great poets. Among several quotations is most of the "Hymn to Pan," which is declared to be "among the finest specimens of classic poetry in our language." One specific line—"But in old marbles ever beautiful"—is pronounced "as fine as that in Shakespeare's Sonnets"—"And beauty making beautiful old rhyme." "And there are not a dozen finer in Shakespeare's poems." It is announced that this review is to be continued, or concluded, but nothing further appeared in the *Champion*.

\*JULY, 1818. *British critic* (N.S.), X, 94.

A scornful digressive remark on Keats in a review of Hunt's *Foliage*.

AUGUST, 1818. *Blackwood's Edinburgh magazine*, III, 519-24.

The fourth article of the series "On the Cockney school of poetry," the only one of that series wholly devoted to Keats.

OCTOBER 3 AND 8, 1818. *Morning chronicle*.

Well-known letters in defense of Keats against the *Quarterly's* attack, reprinted in part in the *Examiner*, October 11, p. 648.

OCTOBER 6, 1818. *Alfred, West of England journal and general advertiser* (Exeter).

Reynolds' very friendly article entitled "The quarterly review—Mr. Keats," most of which was reprinted by Hunt in the *Examiner* of October 11 (p. 648), and which has been reprinted several times since.<sup>13</sup>

NOVEMBER 1, 1818. *Examiner*, page 696.

Reprint of favorable article on *Endymion* from the *Chester guardian*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Reynolds had been succeeded by Dilke as theatrical critic of the *Champion* in January, 1818, and had taken up the study of law. His publications of 1818 were few and those mainly in the *Yellow dwarf*. Cf. Marsh, *Studies in philology*, XXV, 496.

<sup>13</sup> In the *Examiner* for October 25 (p. 678), there is a paragraph of apology for allowing some harsh things Reynolds said of other contemporary poets to be included in the reprint of his article.

<sup>14</sup> Attention was called to this by W. E. Peck in *Modern language notes*, XXXIX (1924), 119. The writers of this paper have not seen the original article.

1819. *Annals of the fine arts*, IV, 354, 638.

First publication of "Ode to a nightingale" and "On a Grecian urn," signed only with a dagger (†).

\*1819. *Common sense, a poem*. Anon. (Charles H. Terrot). Edinburgh.

A rare satire on literature and the church, echoing *Blackwood's* attitude on most of the poets treated. The author's purpose is

Plain common sense, but no ecstatic feats,  
And rhymes at least as good as Mister Keates,

to which this footnote is appended: "Mr. John Keates, the muses' child of promise, is a rising poet of the Cockney School; who, if he had but an ear for rhyme, a little knowledge of grammar, and sufficient intellect to distinguish sense from nonsense, might perhaps do well." Keats is mentioned again on page 15 as one of the adorers of Hunt and is there footnoted as "Mr. Endymion Keates."

\*MARCH 20, 1819. *Literary journal*, page 192.

Regardless of the friendly attitude of this periodical toward Keats in May, 1818, there appeared over the signature "Beppo" a long burlesque poem in very irregular lines entitled, "Pleasant walks; a cockney pastoral, in the manner of Leigh Hunt, Esq." in which "K—" is several times addressed, the following being the most significant passage:

You know, K. I sometimes use your little lines  
That drop,  
In this short manner, like a rotten prop,  
From under a bunch of streaky woodbines,  
Letting the whole beautiful superstructure  
Of my flowers poetical,  
Whate'er I cull,  
Fall smack adown upon the muddy ground,  
Scattering, all o'er every where around,  
Their perfumes into air.

\*DECEMBER, 1819. *Blackwood's Edinburgh magazine*, VI, 239.

In a long review of Hunt's *Literary pocket-book* for 1820, in which Keats's sonnets on "The human seasons" and "Ailsa Rock" were first printed, these sonnets are quoted as "two feats of Johnny Keates, . . . as we are anxious to bring this young writer into notice." The first is mildly praised as illustrating "a common and hackneyed thought . . . in a novel and also natural manner," but the other is ridiculed. The comment ends with denial that "we . . . dislike" Keats.

\*JANUARY, 1820. *Eclectic review* (N.S.), XIII, 85.

Quotation of the slur on "Mister Keates" from *Common sense, a poem*.

\*APRIL, 1820. *Baldwin's London magazine*, I, 380-89.

A belated, but important, review of *Endymion* which, though mentioned in J. P. Anderson's bibliography in the "Great writers" *Life of John Keats* by W. M. Rossetti,<sup>15</sup> escaped the notice of both Colvin and Miss Lowell. The article begins with a protest against criticism for attempts "to blight and wither the maturity of genius; or—still worse—to change its useful enthusiasm into despair," and mentions Keats, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Hunt, among poets so attacked. *Endymion*, though "not a poem at all," is "an ecstatic dream of poetry . . . an involuntary out-pouring of the spirit of poetry." After a good deal of summarizing and quoting—all complimentary—the writer says, "We cannot refrain from asking, Is it credible that the foregoing extracts are taken, almost at random, from a work in which a writer in the most popular . . . critical journal of the day, has been unable to discover anything worthy to redeem it from mere contempt." The effect of such a review (evidently meaning Croker's in the *Quarterly*) on a young poet who naturally wishes fame is elaborated. Faults in construction exist, but this writer harps on beauties because the faults have already been overstressed; he considers Keats's works "richer in promise than any other that we are acquainted with, except those of Chatterton."

MAY 10, 1820. Leigh Hunt's *Indicator*, I, 248.

The first publication of "La belle dame sans merci."

\*JUNE, 1820. *Monthly magazine*, XLIX, 447.

In comment on Barry Cornwall's *Sicilian tale* occurs this sentence: "In a few passages we observe rather too strong a resemblance to the *Endymion* of Mr. Keates [*sic*], who is the precursor of Mr. C. in the mythological and classical style of poetry, engrafted on that of the present age."

JUNE 28, 1820. *Indicator*, I, 304.

First publication of Keats's sonnet entitled "A dream, after reading Dante's episode of Paolo and Francesca."

\*JULY 1, 1820. *Literary gazette*, page 423.

The "Ode to a nightingale," "To autumn," and a long citation from "Lines on the Mermaid Tavern," preceded by the following sentence: "Having received a copy of Mr. Keats' new volume of poetry, which is on the eve of publication, too late in the week for a regular review, we merely present by way of novelty, the following specimens from the minor productions." The *Gazette* paid no further attention to the book.

JULY, 1820. *Monthly review*, XCII, 305-10.

A not unfriendly review of *Lamia*, etc.

<sup>15</sup> P. ix.

JULY 19, 1820. *New Times*.

An appreciative review of *Lamia*, etc., by Lamb, which was reprinted by Hunt in the *Examiner* of July 30 (p. 494) and may be found in recent editions of Lamb.

\*JULY 20, 21, 1820. *London chronicle*, CXXVIII, 70.

A reprint of "To autumn (from *Poems* by John Keats)."

\*JULY 29, 1820. *Literary chronicle and weekly review*, page 484.

An extensive review of the *Lamia* volume. This writer is disappointed. "From Mr. Keats's former productions, we had augured better things, and we are confident he can do better; let him avoid all sickly affectation on one hand, and unintelligible quaintness on the other. Let him avoid coining new words, and give us the English language as it is taught and written in the nineteenth century, and he will have made considerable progress toward improvement. These poems contain many beautiful passages, but they are too thickly strewn with the faults we have noticed, to entitle them to more than a very qualified approval." More specific advice to the poet is that he "renounce all acquaintance with our metropolitan poets"; "entirely abandon their affected school, instead of being a principal supporter of it"; go to North Wales or the Highlands for a year and "trust to nature's ever varying scene and his own talents"; "never write any poem of more than one hundred verses at the utmost." The longer poems are given no praise except that of having "some fine passages"; the "Ode on a Grecian urn" is quoted as best of the smaller pieces; and "Bards of passion," etc., is quoted as having a "pretty idea, happily expressed."

JULY (late), 1820. *Stamford mercury*.

Quotation of "To autumn."<sup>16</sup>

\*AUGUST, 1820. *Gold's London magazine*,<sup>17</sup> II, 160-73.

A long article of rather mixed tenor, combining some praise with a good deal of ridicule seemingly in part motivated by the fact that Keats has been favored by "Baldwin's Magazine," "the pseudo London Magazine." Praise by this latter publication is said to be more harmful than the *Quarterly's* abuse,

<sup>16</sup> We owe knowledge of this item to Edmund Blunden (*Shelley and Keats*, p. 76).

<sup>17</sup> This publication by Gold and Northhouse must be carefully distinguished from the more famous *London magazine* (already cited as Baldwin's) in which *Essays of Elia*, *Confessions of an English opium eater*, etc., first appeared. The two rival magazines were started at the same time (January, 1820), but Gold's lasted only until July, 1821. The one started by Baldwin was edited by John Scott, former editor of the *Champion*, until his death in 1821 in a duel resulting from controversy with *Blackwood's magazine*; and with the July number of 1821 Taylor and Hessey, Keats's friendly publishers, assumed control of this *London magazine*. Both claimants to the name were liberal in politics and literature and in some cases employed the same writers. They will be distinguished as "Gold's" and "Baldwin's" even after the latter was strictly Taylor's.

because so foolish. "We frankly confess our dislike of his rhythm," says the reviewer, "and his intolerable affectation, and mistaken stringing-together of compound epithets. But still we feel that he often *thinks* like a poet. . . . His *Endymion* led us, with all its blemishes, to expect from him higher things; and although disappointed, on this occasion, we are still sanguine of his success." A long "account of the work before us" is given, "inasmuch as we wish to deal fairly by a clever young man, to whom we would recommend a little country air, to strengthen his nerves; and a change of diet, as necessary to the preservation of his health." There follow six pages of jesting summary of *Lamia*, about half quotation, with italicized passages which the writer apparently considered absurd; and some five pages in the same tone on *Isabella*.

AUGUST, 1820. *Edinburgh review*, XXXIV, 203-13.

After long ignoring Keats Jeffrey finally offered his famous guardedly friendly comment, mainly on *Endymion*.

\*1820. *Retrospective review*, II, Part I, 204.

Incidental praise of Keats and Shelley in a review of Wallace's *Various prospects of mankind, nature, and Providence*: "Keats, whose *Endymion* was so cruelly treated by the critics, has just put forth a volume of poems which must eventually silence his deriders. The rich romance of his *Lamia*—the holy beauty of his *St. Agnes' Eve*—the pure and simple diction of his *Isabella*—and the rough sublimity of his *Hyperion*, cannot be laughed down, though all the periodical critics in England and Scotland were to assail them with their sneers." The remainder of the criticism praises Shelley. This passage was reprinted by the *Weekly entertainer and West of England miscellany*, of Sherburne, August 21, 1820, and later by the *Literary and scientific repository and critical review*, of New York.

AUGUST 2 AND 9, 1820. *Indicator*, I, 337, 352.

Hunt's discussion of the *Lamia* collection.

\*AUGUST 6, 1820. *Guardian* (an antiradical Sunday newspaper).

A review of *Lamia*, etc., to the extent of nearly a column, of which the tone is indicated by the following: "We open this volume with an indescribable feeling of reverence and curiosity. We approach it as a gentleman from the country takes his seat in the third row of the pit at the Lyceum, to banquet upon the sweets of 'Woman's Will—a Riddle,' after being told in the play-bill that 'it has received the decided approbation of the first critics of the day.' Mr. Keats has been praised by all 'men of mark,' from the Editor of the *New Times* to the Editor of the *Examiner*. Principles the most opposite unite in lauding this 'Muses' Son of Promise.' . . .

"The first great merit of Mr. Keats' poetry consists in the exercise which it affords to the thinking faculties. It is not to be classed with those common-

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place performances which tell us what every body has seen, in language which every body can understand. It is deep and mystical—it has all the stimulating properties of a Christmas riddle—it is a nosegay of enigmas. . . .

"Our readers will by this time conclude that Mr. Keats is a very original poet. We perfectly accord with them. But he yet has his faults;—he sometimes descends to write naturally, and to use the common language of humanity in the expression of pleasure or grief. We hope he may correct this fault ere the Cockney chair shall become vacant."

AUGUST AND OCTOBER, 1820. *Constable's Edinburgh magazine* (= *Scots magazine* [N.S.]), VII, 107, 313.

Extensive "Remarks on Keats's poems" of distinctly favorable nature.

SEPTEMBER, 1820. *Eclectic review* (N.S.), XIV, 158.

Review of *Lamia*, etc., more adverse than the *Eclectic's* previous comments on Keats.

SEPTEMBER, 1820. *British critic* (N.S.), XIV, 257-64.

Review of *Lamia*, etc., mainly devoted to berating Hunt vicariously. Keats is a "person of no ordinary genius" whose poems are sometimes morally dubious.

SEPTEMBER, 1820. *New monthly magazine*, XIV, 245.

Review of *Lamia*, etc., emphasizing Keats's great improvement.

\*SEPTEMBER, 1820. *Monthly magazine*,<sup>18</sup> L, 166.

A review of the *Lamia* collection as follows: "We have read with pleasure a volume of Poems, lately published by Mr. Keats, the author of *Endymion*. There is a boldness of fancy and a classical expression of language in the poetry of this gentleman, which, we think, entitle him to stand equally high in the estimation of public opinion, as the author of *Rimini*, or as he of the *Dramatic Scenes* ["Barry Cornwall"]. Our pleasure, however, was not unmingled with sentiments of extreme disapprobation. The faults characteristic of his school, are still held up to view with as much affectation, by Mr. K., as if he were fearful of not coming in for his due share of singularity, obscurity, and conceit. But though of the same genus, his poetic labours are specifically different from those of his fellow labourers in the same vineyard. There is more reach of poetic capacity, more depth and intenseness of thought and feeling, with more classical power of expression, than what we discover in the writings of his master, or of his fellow pupil Mr. Cornwall. Mr. C. is compounded of imitation—of Shakespeare and of Mr. Leigh Hunt. Mr. H. is a familiar copier of Dryden, with the manner, only a more sparkling one, but without the

<sup>18</sup> This publication is to be distinguished carefully from both the *Monthly review* (started in 1749) and the *New monthly magazine* (set up in 1814 to combat the alleged "Jacobinism" of the *Monthly magazine*). Both Colvin and Amy Lowell notice comments on the *Lamia* volume in the *Review* and the *New monthly*, but not the short article here quoted.

pathos, of Crabbe. Mr. K., on the contrary, is always himself, and as long as fair originality shall be thought superior to good imitation, he will always be preferred. The Poems consist of various Tales, *Lamia*, *Isabella*, *The eve of St. Agnes*, of which we think the first is the best. *Hyperion*, however, is the most powerful."

\*SEPTEMBER, 1820. *Baldwin's London magazine*, II, 315-21.<sup>19</sup>

An important review of the *Lamia* volume which begins with severe comment on the unprincipled abuse to which Keats had been subjected because of the determination of literary judgments by party considerations. "The provocation, we allow, is reciprocal: the vanity of the Examiner manifests just as great a deficiency in real candour as is apparent in the bitter spite of the Quarterly, or the merry ruffianism of Blackwood." A long comment follows on Keats's becoming "impregnated [as to spirit] with a flippant impatience (irritated and justified by a false philosophy) of the great phenomena of society, and the vanities of human nature," with citation in proof of an outburst against "trade" in *Isabella*. Then, turning to the injustice to Keats on the poetical side, the reviewer quotes from "The eve of St. Agnes" and the "Ode to a nightingale," and comments on *Hyperion* as "one of the most extraordinary creations of any modern imagination." After remarks on the "bigness" of that poem the writer continues: "Alas, centuries have brought littleness since then,—otherwise a crawling reptile of office, with just strength enough to leave its slimy traces on the pages of a fashionable Review, could never have done a real mischief to the poet of the Titans! It is but a fragment we have of *Hyperion*; an advertisement tells us that 'the poem was intended to have been of equal length with *Endymion*, but the reception given to that work discouraged the author from proceeding.' Let Mr. Croker read the following sublime and gorgeous personification of Asia, and be proud of the information thus given him—and of that superior encouragement to which it is owing that we have his *Talavera* in a complete state!" After a long citation from the beginning of *Hyperion*, comes the following: "Will not our readers feel it as a disgrace attaching to the character of the period that a dastardly attempt should have been made to assassinate a poet of power equal to these passages . . . ?" The article concludes with comments on some faults of Keats, but does not depart from its friendly tone.

SEPTEMBER, 1820. *Blackwood's Edinburgh magazine*, VII, \*665, 679.

The first reference is to a passage in "Extracts from Mr. Wastle's diary," granting Keats some merit, but prophesying that Hunt will ruin him; the second is to the well-known assault on Keats and his last volume in a review of Shelley's *Prometheus unbound*.

<sup>19</sup> Like the article mentioned above in the April number of the same magazine, this one is included in J. P. Anderson's bibliography, and presumably Edmund Blunden means this article when he comments on "the splendid essay by John Scott in his *London Magazine*" (*Leigh Hunt* [1930], p. 153); but Colvin and Amy Lowell give no hint of knowing it.

AP  
H  
BGP  
reuben K. - mention  
said return - said with  
Hyperion - but in book  
of Scott  
named as Colvin

SEPTEMBER 20, 1820. *Indicator*, II, 399.

Hunt's affectionate farewell to Keats.

\*OCTOBER 27, 1820. *Déjeuné*,<sup>20</sup> page 45.

In an article called "The literary assize court," signed "G.," a culprit—unnamed but plainly meant to be taken as the absurd little "Johnny Keats" of *Blackwood's*—recites in self-defense a poem that includes the following lines:

By Chaucer, Spencer [sic], Milton, Gower,  
Leigh Hunt, and every name of power,  
But above all by mighty Pan,  
Who often in the wild woods ran;  
Chasing the nymphs with cloven feet,  
Leering at all that he might meet;—  
By Endymion, who in truth,  
Was a lazy sleeping youth;—  
By Laura, Isabel, and the Eve  
Of Fair St. Agnes (how I grieve  
To think the work will never sell);  
By the unseen mystic spell,  
Haunting for aye the drowsy mind,  
To which too long I've been resign'd;  
Dreams and a thousand silent things  
Flapping with "noiseless noise" their wings  
Around the true poetic brow—  
I speak the truth—the whole truth now—  
That ever-hallowed man who stands  
Holding a nosegay in his hands,  
Is innocent in thought, word, action,  
He knows no criminal transaction—  
I penn'd a sonnet to his fame,  
With my own hand subscrib'd my name, etc.

\*NOVEMBER, 1820. *Eclectic review* (N.S.), XV, 323.

A somewhat lukewarm comparison of Keats and "Barry Cornwall," in reviewing the latter.

\*DECEMBER, 1820. *Baldwin's London magazine*, II, 681.

Defense of Keats in an article entitled "The Mohock magazine" (*Blackwood's*).

\*DECEMBER, 1820. *Gold's London magazine*, II, 559.

In an article entitled "Essay on poetry, with observations of the living poets," is the following passage: "There is a young man of the name of John Keats, whom it has lately become the fashion to abuse, because he has been

<sup>20</sup> A small eight-page daily published by Gold and Northhouse from October 21 to December 16, 1820.

be praised by Leigh Hunt and abused by the *Quarterly Review*. He is a poet of excessive imagination; perhaps as much so as any writer of the present day; but abounds in errors both of taste and sentiment. His fragment of *Hyperion*, wild and unconnected as it is, is a giant in ruins,—grand, vast, and sublime, and a fine specimen of original thinking, that is at no great lapse of time destined to achieve wonders in the poetical world." "Prevailing foibles" of the poet are mentioned; "but he has a happy facility of expressing apt images by individual expression, and of hitching the faculty of imagination on a single word; such as that exquisitely imaginative line—'She stood in tears amid the alien corn.'" "Robin Hood" is quoted as less singular than most of Keats's work and hence likely to attract those who have had bad impressions.

\*1820. *Annual register*, pages 529, 534.

Reprints "Ode on a Grecian urn," "Ode to Psyche," and "Fancy," mentioned as "From Lamia, Isabella, the Eve of St. Agnes, and other Poems, by John Keats, Author of *Endymion*."

\*FEBRUARY 1, 1821. *Tickler; or, monthly compendium*, etc., III, 37.

"On the grasshopper and the cricket (from Poems by John Keats)."

\*FEBRUARY, 1821. *Baldwin's London magazine*, III, 132.

Table Talk No. 7, "On reading old books" (by Hazlitt), contains a number of flattering comments on Keats, especially "The eve of St. Agnes."

\*MARCH, 1821. *Monthly repository*, XVI, 181.

A colorless obituary notice.

\*MARCH, 1821. *Gold's London magazine*, III, 276, 278-80.

On the first page mentioned is a couplet on Keats in a longer poem. The second reference is to a review of *Queen Mab* in which it is said that in some respects Keats is superior to Shelley.

MARCH, 1821. *Gentleman's magazine*, XCI<sup>1</sup>, 282.

Bare mention of Keats's death.

MARCH 25, 1821. *Examiner*, page 184.

A death notice.

\*MARCH 31, 1821. *Literary chronicle*, page 206.

"Verses to the memory of John Keats, the poet," signed "P."

\*APRIL, 1821. *Baldwin's London magazine*, III, 426.

In "Town conversation" a page on the "Death of Mr. John Keats," signed "L."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Noted in J. P. Anderson's bibliography and reprinted by Bertram Dobell in *Side lights on Charles Lamb* (p. 192), but apparently unknown to Keats's biographers. Dobell thinks "L." was B. W. Procter rather than Lamb.

MAY, 1821. *Monthly magazine*, LI, 396.

A death notice.

MAY, 1821. *New monthly magazine* (N.S.), III, 256.

A very friendly death notice of a column and a half.

\*MAY, 1821. *Baldwin's London magazine*, III, 526.

"Sonnet, on the death of the poet J. Keats"—noted by Anderson, but not otherwise. Keats is mourned as

the very sweetest bird  
That ever made a moonlight forest ring.

\*MAY 19, 1821. *Gossip*,<sup>22</sup> page 96.

Three ten-line stanzas "On reading *Lamia* and other poems, by John Keats," signed "G. V. D."; full of sympathetic echoes from the volume, ending on a note of sorrow for the poet's death.

\*JUNE, 1821. *Arliss's pocket magazine*, VII, 333.

"Remarks on the character and writings of the late John Keats, the poet," signed J. W. Dalby and dated April 4, 1821. The article is appreciative of Keats's powers, but places too much emphasis on his susceptibility to the "attacks of grovelling and merciless critics." It is mentioned that the *Edinburgh review*, after neglecting him, came forth with favorable comment, and the trend of criticism rather swung in his favor, but he was taken away before he could get the benefit. There is quotation from the *London magazine* obituary of April, described as "some particulars of the latter days of Mr. Keats, communicated to the public by an intimate friend of the departed poet."

\*JULY, 1821. *Baldwin's London magazine*, IV, 59.

In a review of Reynolds' *The garden of Florence*, etc., there is mention—though without Keats's name—of the plan for him and Reynolds to collaborate in a series of poems from Boccaccio.

JULY 27, 1821. *Morning chronicle*.

A letter signed "Y" on Keats's death, protesting against his unjust treatment by reviewers. The author writes as "a schoolfellow and friend," and is supposed by Edmund Blunden, who quotes the letter,<sup>23</sup> to have been Charles Cowden Clarke.

\*AUGUST 1, 1821. *Tickler*, III, 162.

A reprint of Keats's sonnet "O Solitude."

<sup>22</sup> Published by J. Bennett, Kentish Town, from March 3 to August 11, 1821; mentioned only by Anderson.

<sup>23</sup> *Shelley and Keats as they struck their contemporaries*, pp. 69-71.

\*SEPTEMBER, 1821. *Baldwin's London magazine*, IV, 288.

A quotation from "The eve of St. Agnes."

\*NOVEMBER, 1821. *Imperial magazine*, etc. (Liverpool), pages 1076-80.

A letter "On the neglect of genius," signed "M. M." Keats was hated on account of his party and was hounded to death. He had a "high imagination," a "delicate fancy," a "fine ear," a "tender heart." A number of lines are quoted.

DECEMBER, 1821. Shelley's publication of *Adonais*, with a prefatory account of Keats.

DECEMBER 1, 1821. *Literary chronicle*, pages 751-54.

An almost complete text of *Adonais*—its first appearance in England—with some friendly comment copied from Shelley's introduction.

DECEMBER 8, 1821. *Literary gazette*, pages 772-73.

A contemptuous comment on *Adonais*.<sup>24</sup>

DECEMBER, 1821. *Blackwood's Edinburgh magazine*, X, 696.

Contemptuous mention of Keats in a nasty comment on *Adonais*.

1821. Hazlitt's *Table talk*, Volume I; essay "On living to one's self."

Part of a paragraph attributing Keats's death to *Blackwood's*.

1821. *Annual register*, "Appendix to chronicle," page 232.

A death notice in which Keats is called "a young man of distinguished genius as a poet."

Of the items of all types described above, about half have never hitherto entered into the history of Keats's relations with his public, even though several of them have appeared previously in bibliographical lists or special articles. With approximately complete data before us, we can for the first time be reasonably sure of a sound basis for conclusions. It is obvious at a glance that, if bulk and numbers alone are to be considered, the critics of Keats were preponderantly friendly and encouraging rather than inimical. Only fifteen of more than eighty items are definitely hostile; except for twelve that are neutral or otherwise doubtful, the rest are favorable to Keats. This includes the twenty-two poems or excerpts printed by Keats or reprinted

<sup>24</sup> See Marsh, "The early reviews of Shelley," *Modern philology*, XXVII (1929), 86.

by others without expressed opinion. The favorable comments range from an almost even mixture of praise and blame, coupled with an encouraging attitude and acknowledgment of genius, to pure propaganda on the part of the poet's friends. The outright championship of Keats by such personal friends as Mathew, Reynolds, Bailey, Hunt, Lamb, John Scott, Hazlitt, Procter, Taylor, and Shelley (though the four last apparently wrote no set reviews) outbulks and outnumbers the virulences of Croker and the hearty brutalities of Blackwood's merry would-be assassins. The *Quarterly*, *Blackwood's*, and the *British critic*, which assailed Keats, were all powerful publications, but they were outnumbered seven or eight to one by periodicals that were either friendly or tolerant, among them such widely read journals of opinion as the *Examiner* and the *Champion*, and such influential magazines as the *Edinburgh review* and the *London magazine*. The *Monthly review*, *Monthly magazine*, *New monthly magazine*, and *Scots magazine*—all predominantly friendly to Keats—were among the most influential monthlies after *Blackwood's* and the *London magazine*. During 1816 and 1817 Keats suffered no really adverse criticism. In only one year, 1819, when Keats published no volume, did the unfriendly comment outweigh the friendly, by reason of the continued incidental sneers of *Blackwood's*. Though Keats was too ill in 1820 to benefit greatly by the seventeen reviews of *Lamia*, nearly all encouraging, he was at least able to write to a friend that *Lamia* had been "very highly rated."

It is a curious fact that Keats's biographers and editors have all failed to appreciate the preponderance of favorable over unfavorable contemporary criticism of Keats. Exclusive of thirteen poems that were printed or reprinted without comment, thirty of the items listed above have long been generally known, and of these eighteen were predominantly favorable, four definitely hostile, and the remainder either neutral or doubtful. Both Colvin and Amy Lowell make true and discriminating comments on most of the thirty individually; but in neglecting to re-estimate them collectively they missed an opportunity to clear up a misconception for which the corrective was already at hand.

It was natural to give undue weight to the power of Keats's most malevolent enemies, whose criticisms had been known from the first.



Their persistence and influence partly account for the sympathetic pity which led some of the poet's friendly contemporary critics to regard him as a man already assassinated. A few of them may have known better and may have been using his "oppression" to build favor for Keats, but to most of them it was natural to regard a poet as a sensitive soul, likely to be snuffed out by articles, like Chatterton and Kirke White. The fate of both these earlier poets was a matter of general knowledge and comment, several times in connection with Keats. Byron, Hazlitt (who regarded himself almost as a similar victim), and, above all, Shelley in *Adonais*, fixed this conception of the poet and his critics so firmly that even Keats's latest biographers appear to have been overinfluenced by it.

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## STENDHAL EN ESPAGNE

LES *Promenades dans Rome* étaient enfin imprimées, le *Journal de la librairie* les avait annoncées dans son numéro du samedi 5 septembre 1829, et M. de Stendhal pouvait songer à se reposer de ses travaux et à mettre prudemment quelques centaines de lieues entre Paris et lui. Un événement imprévu le décida: le mardi matin 8 septembre, au café de Rouen, il demeura stupide en découvrant dans son journal la nouvelle de la mort du comte Daru, emporté le 5 par une attaque d'apoplexie. Il sauta aussitôt dans un cabriolet, la larme à l'œil, et se fit conduire en toute hâte au 81 de la rue de Grenelle; il n'y trouva qu'un laquais qui pleurait: c'était en effet à sa terre de Bécheville, près de Meulan, que le comte était mort, et l'on ramenait le corps à Paris pour les obsèques, qui devaient avoir lieu à Saint-Thomas d'Aquin. Beyle pleura à chaudes larmes, il se jugeait bien ingrat envers son ancien protecteur; mais il mit le comble à son ingratitude en avançant son départ et en quittant Paris sans attendre les obsèques: il sentait qu'il serait mort de douleur en rentrant dans cette maison où il n'avait pas mis le pied depuis des années. Le soir même il prenait la diligence,<sup>1</sup> après avoir noté dans son exemplaire des *Promenades*: «Départ pour Bordeaux, 8 septembre 1829».<sup>2</sup> Ce fut là tout son carnet de route: nulle part dans ses journaux ou ses notes intimes il ne nous a laissé, semble-t-il, le moindre renseignement sur la suite de ce voyage.

Par contre, en rapprochant quelques allusions éparses dans la *Vie*

<sup>1</sup> *Sousvenirs d'égotisme*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1927), pp. 27-28; *Constitutionnel*, mardi 8 septembre 1829; *Courrier français*, mardi 8 et jeudi 10 septembre 1829. Les *Sousvenirs d'égotisme* racontent, sans toutefois fixer la date de l'incident, comment Beyle apprit par le journal la mort de Daru et fut amené à partir le soir même en voyage; or c'est le 8 septembre 1829 que les journaux annoncèrent la mort de Daru; c'est donc le 8 au soir que Beyle se mit en route. Selon les *Sousvenirs d'égotisme*, qui d'ailleurs n'osent l'affirmer, le but de ce voyage aurait été l'Italie; mais le dernier départ de Beyle pour l'Italie avant le départ de 1830 pour Trieste remonte à 1827. Les obsèques de Daru eurent lieu le 11 septembre: on en trouvera le récit dans le *Courrier français* du 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Promenades dans Rome* (Paris: Delaunay, 1829), exemplaire Serge André, I, gardes à la fin du volume, fol. 20 verso. Cette note autographe confirme la date déduite des *Sousvenirs d'égotisme* et des journaux, et établit incontestablement la direction du voyage. C'est à la courtoise obligeance de M. Paul Arbetet que nous devons la communication des notes de l'exemplaire Serge André, dont M. Jacques Boulenger a d'autre part publié un relevé dans sa *Candidature au Stendhal-Club* (Paris: Divan, 1926).

de Henri Brulard et le *Voyage dans le Midi*, et quelques annotations des *Promenades* et de *Lucien Leuwen*, on peut reconstituer l'itinéraire d'un voyage que Beyle aurait fait dans le Midi et jusqu'en Espagne, non pas en 1829, mais, s'il faut l'en croire, en 1828. Après avoir traversé Bordeaux qu'il ne fait qu'entrevoir, il descend en diligence, au mois de septembre, de Bordeaux à Toulouse; là il découvre que la bonne compagnie soutient encore que le Parlement a eu raison de condamner Calas; de Toulouse il se rend à Carcassonne en petite chaise et en bateau; puis, par Narbonne, Perpignan et Figières, il pousse jusqu'à Barcelone.<sup>3</sup> Rentré en France, il se dirige vers Montpellier, où il voit au passage le peintre Fabre, l'ami de la comtesse d'Albany;<sup>4</sup> au mois d'octobre il est à Marseille, et c'est là qu'il conçoit, dans la nuit du 25 au 26, l'idée de ce *Julien* qui deviendra *le Rouge et le Noir*, et dont il fait trop courte la première ébauche;<sup>5</sup> de Marseille il remonte vers Grenoble, où le son des cloches de la cathédrale lui inspire une tristesse mortelle, et d'où il va revoir à Furonnières la maison de campagne de son enfance, et à Saint-Ismier son vieil ami Félix Faure.<sup>6</sup>

Beyle aurait donc fait deux voyages dans le Midi, en 1829 et en 1828; mais, par un hasard bien singulier, nous ne connaissons l'un que jusqu'à Bordeaux et l'autre qu'à partir de Bordeaux. Il semble plus plausible d'admettre que ces deux itinéraires tronqués, qui peuvent se raccorder si exactement l'un à l'autre, constituent en fait un seul et même voyage, qu'une confusion de dates de la part de Beyle aurait ensuite apparemment dédoublé. Mais alors est-ce en 1828 ou en 1829 qu'il convient de placer ce voyage unique?

Dans sa belle édition critique des *Mémoires d'un touriste*, M. Louis Royer, se fondant sur la majorité des témoignages, le place sans

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage dans le Midi de la France*, éd. L. Royer, *Mémoires d'un touriste* (Paris: Champion, 1932), III, 3, 54, 72, 170-71, 149. Il ne dit rien de son passage à Narbonne et à Perpignan; mais l'examen du *Lierre de poste* montre que, pour aller de Carcassonne à Figières, il dut nécessairement suivre la route de Carcassonne à Montpellier jusqu'à Narbonne, où il trouva la route de Paris à Barcelone par Perpignan et Figières.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309. Il ne dit rien de son retour en France; mais il est probable qu'il remonta, par Figières et Perpignan, jusqu'à Narbonne, où il reprit la grande route de Carcassonne à Montpellier.

<sup>5</sup> *Promenades dans Rome*, exemplaire cité, I, gardes à la fin du volume, fol. 5 verso, note rétrospective de date indéterminée: «1828, nuit du 25 au 26 octobre, Marseille, je crois l'idée de *Julien*, depuis appelé, en mai 1830, *le Rouge et le Noir*; et *Lucien Leuwen*, éd. H. Debraye (Paris: Champion, 1927), II, 326, note du 5 mai 1834: «A Marseille, en 1828, je crois, je fis trop court le manuscrit du *Rouge*.»

<sup>6</sup> *Vie de Henri Brulard*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1927), I, 54, 118, 150.

hésiter en septembre-octobre 1828, et écarte sommairement la date du 8 septembre 1829 attestée par la note des *Promenades*, dans laquelle 1829 serait un «lapsus évident» pour 1828: c'est donc le 8 septembre 1828 que Beyle serait parti pour Bordeaux, d'où il aurait poursuivi son voyage dans la direction de Toulouse et de Barcelone.<sup>7</sup> Mais cette hypothèse si vraisemblable néglige plusieurs éléments importants du problème. En premier lieu, la réalité du départ du 8 septembre 1829 pour Bordeaux est irréfutablement confirmée par le recoupement de deux témoignages indépendants: celui des *Souvenirs d'égotisme*, où Beyle affirme que c'est la nouvelle de la mort de Daru, lue le matin dans un journal, qui l'a décidé à partir le soir même en voyage; et celui des journaux, qui tous annoncèrent cette nouvelle précisément le 8 septembre 1829. En second lieu, il est permis de douter que Beyle ait fait en septembre-octobre 1828 le voyage que semblent établir les multiples allusions relevées plus haut: non seulement aucun témoignage indépendant ne vient confirmer ces rappels fort postérieurs à l'événement,<sup>8</sup> mais encore l'examen de l'emploi du temps de Beyle en 1828 les infirme manifestement, en montrant qu'il lui eût été impossible cette année-là de faire son voyage dans le Midi aux dates qu'ils indiquent.

Le 4 septembre 1828, il date de Paris un testament;<sup>9</sup> entre le 15 et le 19, il voit au Théâtre-Français l'*Olga* d'Ancelet;<sup>10</sup> le 18, il est invité par Sophie Duvaucel à participer le lendemain 19 à une excursion à Saint-Cloud en compagnie de Sutton Sharpe;<sup>11</sup> le 21, il

<sup>7</sup> *Mémoires d'un touriste*, éd. cit., I, lili, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> Lucien Leuwen date de 1834, la *Vie de Henri Brulard* de 1835 et le *Voyage dans le Midi* de 1838; quant à la note des *Promenades* citée ci-dessus note 5, elle est nécessairement postérieure à 1830, mais il est impossible d'en déterminer plus exactement la date.

<sup>9</sup> A. Cordier, *Comment a vécu Stendhal* (Paris: Villerelle, s.d.), p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Cette pièce, représentée pour la première fois le 15 septembre 1828, fut reprise le 17 et le 19; Beyle en rendit compte dans son article adressé le 21 au *New monthly magazine*.

<sup>11</sup> Voir dans Doris Gunnell, *Sutton Sharpe et ses amis français* (Paris: Champion, 1927), pp. 227-29, la lettre dans laquelle Sophie Duvaucel annonce à Sutton Sharpe ce projet d'excursion, dont elle le prie de faire part à Beyle. Cette lettre porte, d'une main inconnue, l'indication «Paris, 1828»; Sophie elle-même l'avait d'abord datée simplement de «Jeudi matin», puis elle y a ajouté un post-scriptum daté de «Jeudi à huit heures du soir», dans lequel elle dit notamment: «La réponse du Gouverneur de Saint-Cloud est que S.M. arrivant demain dans la matinée, nous devons être au château à onze heures précises, si nous voulons voir les appartements royaux.» Or le seul vendredi de l'année 1828 où le roi ait été attendu à Saint-Cloud est le vendredi 19 septembre: cf. *Constitutionnel*, *Courrier français*, samedi 20 septembre 1828; c'est donc le jeudi 18 que Sophie écrivit. Cette date s'accorde d'ailleurs parfaitement avec les dates probables du séjour de Sutton Sharpe en

envoi au *New monthly magazine* un article qui paraît dans le numéro du 1<sup>er</sup> octobre.<sup>12</sup> Nous perdons alors sa trace pendant quelque temps. Mais le 24 octobre il adresse de Paris au *New monthly magazine* un nouvel article qui paraît le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre, et dans lequel il rend compte des *Malheurs d'un amant heureux* publiés le 29 septembre, du *Maçon* publié le 5 octobre, et de *Gertrude* publiée le 21 octobre.<sup>13</sup> Les 14 et 15 novembre, il date de Paris un second testament;<sup>14</sup> le 17, il écrit à Viолет-Le-Duc pour lui demander s'il assistera le 20 à la réception de M. de Barante;<sup>15</sup> les 4 et 6 décembre, il date de Paris un troisième testament;<sup>16</sup> entre le 8 et le 18, il voit au Gymnase la *Malvina* de Scribe, dont il rend compte dans un article adressé le 18 au *New monthly magazine*, qui le publie le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1829;<sup>17</sup> le 26, il signale à Mérimée un dialogue de Janin paru dans le *Figaro* du 17.<sup>18</sup> Il semble donc bien qu'entre le début de septembre et la fin de décembre 1828 Beyle n'ait guère pu s'éloigner de Paris, sauf entre le 21 septembre et le 24 octobre d'une part, ou entre le 24 octobre et le 14 novembre d'autre part. Nous pouvons écarter immédiatement la seconde alternative: en admettant même qu'il fût parti de Paris dès le 24 octobre au soir, il lui eût été impossible non seulement de se trouver en septembre sur la route de Bordeaux à Toulouse, mais aussi d'arriver

France cette année-là: arrivé vers le 20 août, il dut repartir vers le 15 octobre; en tout cas, il reçoit bien à Londres le 14 août la lettre que Jacquemont lui y a adressée le 6, mais il n'y trouve que le 20 octobre celle que Beyle lui y a adressée le 14 août, et qu'il a sans doute croisée en route: cf. *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XIV (octobre-décembre 1907), 701; et *Correspondance de Stendhal* (Paris: Bosse, 1908), II, 488-90.

<sup>12</sup> *New monthly magazine*, XXIII (October 1828), 382-84. Il n'y a aucune raison de mettre en doute la date d'envoi de cet article, fort vraisemblable si l'on tient compte du temps nécessaire pour le port, la traduction et l'impression.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, November 1828, pp. 486-88. La date de Paris le 24 octobre 1828, que porte cet article, est inattaquable: il fut nécessairement écrit après le 21, puisqu'il rend compte de *Gertrude* dont la mise en vente fut annoncée le 21 par le *Constitutionnel* et le 25 par le *Journal de la librairie*; et il ne saurait guère être postérieur au 24, qui semble bien être la date extrême à laquelle Beyle ait pu l'expédier de Paris pour qu'il arrivât à Londres et fût traduit à temps pour l'impression du *New monthly magazine* du 1<sup>er</sup> novembre. Ajoutons que l'auteur n'avait d'ailleurs aucun intérêt à tromper sur ce point son éditeur ou ses lecteurs.

<sup>14</sup> Cordier, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> *Correspondance*, II, 490-91. Sur la date de cette lettre, voir nos «Problèmes de chronologie stendhalienne» sous presse à la *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*.

<sup>16</sup> Cordier, pp. 23-24.

<sup>17</sup> *New monthly magazine*, XXV (January 1829), 102-4. *Malvina*, représentée pour la première fois le 8 décembre, tint l'affiche sans interruption jusqu'à la fin de l'année.

<sup>18</sup> *Correspondance*, II, 508-9. Sur la date de cette lettre, voir nos «Problèmes de chronologie stendhalienne».

à Marseille avant la fin d'octobre en passant par Barcelone. La première hypothèse semble d'abord plus acceptable: même en ne partant pour Bordeaux qu'après le 21 septembre, il lui eût encore été facile de couvrir le trajet Bordeaux-Toulouse avant la fin du mois, de pousser jusqu'à Barcelone, et de toucher Marseille avant la fin d'octobre. Mais en ce cas, comme il était à Paris le 24 octobre, il s'est manifestement trompé soit sur le quantième, soit sur le mois, soit sur l'année, soit sur le lieu, en fixant dans la note des *Promenades* à la nuit du 25 au 26 octobre 1828 à Marseille la date et le lieu de la conception de *Julien*.<sup>19</sup> si ce fut le 25-26 en octobre, ou bien ce ne fut pas à Marseille, ou bien ce ne fut pas en 1828; si ce fut en 1828 en octobre, ou bien ce ne fut pas le 25-26, ou bien ce ne fut pas à Marseille; si ce fut en 1828 le 25-26, ou bien ce ne fut pas en octobre, ou bien ce ne fut pas à Marseille; si ce fut à Marseille en 1828, ou bien ce ne fut pas en octobre, ou bien ce ne fut pas le 25-26; si ce fut à Marseille en octobre, ou bien ce ne fut pas en 1828, ou bien ce ne fut pas le 25-26; et enfin si ce fut à Marseille le 25-26, ou bien ce ne fut pas en octobre, ou bien ce ne fut pas en 1828. Sans vouloir encore choisir définitivement entre ces différentes hypothèses, signalons du moins déjà quelques probabilités. La date du 25-26 octobre, bien qu'elle ne soit attestée qu'une fois,<sup>20</sup> est rendue vraisemblable par sa précision même, qui semble indiquer qu'elle a été tirée après coup par Beyle d'un memento, incomplet peut-être mais contemporain de l'événement, comme il en jetait habituellement sur ses papiers et ses livres. La date de 1828, qui est attestée deux fois, dont l'une affirmativement et l'autre dubitativement,<sup>21</sup> paraît très suspecte: Beyle, fort désargenté à l'époque et tout occupé des *Promenades*, ne s'est probablement point exposé en septembre-octobre 1828 à la dépense et à la perte de temps qu'eût entraînées un aussi long voyage; et s'il avait connu dès 1828 l'affaire de Brangues, qui avait eu lieu pendant son voyage de 1827-28 en Italie, il n'eût sans doute pas manqué de placer en 1829 dans les *Promenades* le séminariste Berthet auprès du menuisier Laffargue, parmi les Othello dont il admirait dans la *Gazette des tribunaux* l'énergie pas-

<sup>19</sup> Note rétrospective citée ci-dessus note 5.

<sup>20</sup> Note citée ci-dessus note 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Promenades dans Rome*, note rétrospective citée ci-dessus note 5; Lucien Leuwen, éd. cit., II, 326, note du 5 mai 1834 citée ci-dessus note 5.



sionnée.<sup>22</sup> Enfin, la conception de *Julien* à Marseille, qui est attestée quatre fois, dont une dubitativement et trois affirmativement,<sup>23</sup> peut être considérée comme presque incontestable, car si Beyle confondait aisément les dates, il gardait au contraire, si l'on en juge d'après les *Souvenirs d'égotisme* et la *Vie de Henri Brulard*, une mémoire aussi précise que durable des circonstances et des décors associés aux moindres incidents de sa vie.

Récapitulons. Il est certain qu'en 1828 Beyle n'aurait pas pu partir pour Bordeaux avant le 21 septembre; il est non moins certain qu'il était à Paris le 24 octobre et qu'il n'était pas à Marseille dans la nuit du 25 au 26 du même mois; et il semble, sinon impossible, du moins improbable qu'il ait fait en septembre-octobre un voyage dans le Midi compliqué d'une excursion en Espagne. Par contre, il est établi qu'il est parti le 8 septembre 1829 pour Bordeaux; et comme, en l'état actuel des études stendhaliennes, aucun document ne démontre sa présence à Paris entre les premiers jours de septembre et les premiers jours de décembre 1829,<sup>24</sup> il est vraisemblable que c'est pendant ces quelques semaines qu'il a parcouru le Midi de Bordeaux et Toulouse à Marseille et Grenoble, en passant par Barcelone. D'autres considérations viennent d'ailleurs corroborer cette hypothèse.

Que diable allait-il donc faire à Barcelone? Il nous l'a plus tard expliqué lui-même en toutes lettres dans son *Voyage dans le Midi*, à propos de l'étape Bordeaux-Toulouse: «J'ai fait ce trajet en septembre 1828 en allant voir la terreur (par le comte d'Espagne à Barcelone), mais n'ayant pas écrit de journal, nuls souvenirs nets.»<sup>25</sup> Mais c'est

<sup>22</sup> *Promenades dans Rome* (Paris: Delaunay, 1829), II, 84-85, 138-39, 412-26.

<sup>23</sup> *Promenades dans Rome*, note rétrospective citée ci-dessus note 5; *Une position sociale*, éd. H. Debraye (Paris: Kra, 1927), p. 124, note du 14 avril 1833: «Arranger cette histoire comme l'arrangeait Julien à Marseille»; *Lucien Leuwen*, II, 326, note du 5 mai 1834 citée ci-dessus note 5; *Le Rose et le Vert*, MS Grenoble R. 291, fol. 301, note du 2 juin 1837: «Nantes, j'espère, me sera comme Marseille for the Rouge.»

<sup>24</sup> La *Correspondance* renferme bien, au tome II, pp. 504-8, une lettre datée de Paris le 5 novembre 1829; mais cette prétendue lettre n'est évidemment qu'un fragment d'article gauchement camouflé par Colomb, et dont l'en-tête même est suspect. Quant au billet de remerciement adressé le 8 octobre 1829 à Beyle par Sainte-Beuve pour l'envoi des *Promenades*, et publié par A. Paupe dans sa *Vie littéraire de Stendhal* (Paris: Champlon, 1914), p. 46, il n'indique point la date à laquelle aurait été fait cet envoi, dont Delaunay s'était d'ailleurs peut-être chargé.

<sup>25</sup> *Voyage dans le Midi*, p. 54. Dans sa notice biographique de 1837, il déclarait déjà: «Il fit deux voyages en Italie, alla un peu en Espagne jusqu'à Barcelone. Le comte d'Espagne ne permettait pas de passer plus loin»; cf. *Vie de Henri Brulard*, éd. H. Debraye (Paris: Champion, 1913), II, 328, et la correction de L. Royer, *Mémoires d'un touriste*, I, lili, note 2.

pendant l'été de 1829, et non point pendant celui de 1828, que le comte d'Espagne, capitaine-général de la Catalogne, fit vraiment régner la terreur dans cette province où, depuis 1825, les soulèvements d'*agraviados* s'étaient succédé presque sans trêve.

En juillet 1827, l'insurrection avait repris avec une particulière gravité dans les districts de Manresa, Vich et Gironne, et une junte avait été proclamée. Le gouvernement réagit vigoureusement: le 16 septembre, le comte d'Espagne partait pour la Catalogne avec le titre de commandant-en-chef de la garde royale d'infanterie; le 30, il était proclamé capitaine-général de la principauté et général-en-chef de l'armée d'opérations. Il organisa aussitôt une répression impitoyable, multiplia les exécutions, et répandit la terreur dans toute la province. Barcelone lui échappait encore; mais les troupes françaises l'ayant évacuée le 27 novembre, les troupes espagnoles l'occupèrent le 28; et le capitaine-général, installé à la citadelle, commença à faire peser sur la ville une intolérable tyrannie, que l'arrivée du roi le 4 décembre n'allégea point, et qui devait se prolonger plusieurs mois. Cependant le redoutable Bosoms, pris le 2 février 1828, était exécuté le 13, et les dernières bandes d'*agraviados*, impitoyablement traquées, étaient détruites ou dispersées. Bientôt, le crédit de Calomarde augmentant auprès de Ferdinand VII, le comte d'Espagne dut abandonner son système de terrorisme; vers la fin mars, bien que la révolte grondât encore sourdement, la tranquillité semblait à peu près rétablie; et le roi, s'en remettant au capitaine-général du soin de la maintenir, ne tardait pas à partir pour Saragosse, où il entra le 22 avril.<sup>26</sup>

Le silence se fait alors sur les affaires de la principauté; mais l'accalmie ne dure que quelques mois. Vers la fin d'août, les journaux signalent l'apparition de nouvelles bandes d'*agraviados*; vers le milieu de septembre ils rapportent des arrestations à Barcelone; au début d'octobre ils annoncent qu'on vient de découvrir une prétendue conspiration, que plusieurs officiers *indefinidos* ont été incarcérés, et qu'il

<sup>26</sup> Telle serait en substance, d'après le *Constitutionnel* ou le *Courrier français*, l'histoire de la terreur de 1827-28, dont Beyle, rentré d'Italie vers février 1828, put suivre les dernières phases dans ses journaux ordinaires: cf. *Constitutionnel*, 19, 24, 25 février, 3 11, 21 mars, 5, 21 avril, et 3 mai 1828. Sur les épisodes antérieurs, cf. *Constitutionnel*, 2 juillet, 14, 16, 24, 26, 27 août, 6, 7, 13, 16, 24, 27, 28 septembre, 9, 23 octobre, 4, 6, 25, 29 novembre, 5, 9, 13, 26, 30 décembre 1827, 6, 10, et 19 janvier 1828. Il va sans dire que nous n'avons point ici la prétention d'écrire l'histoire des insurrections catalanes; nous essayons seulement de déterminer approximativement ce que Beyle en a pu apprendre par les journaux.

n'y a plus de sûreté pour personne; dans le courant du même mois ils enregistrent quelques exemples de la tyrannie du capitaine-général; mais il n'est pas encore question de terreur. C'est seulement en novembre que les nouvelles deviennent vraiment graves: le 17 on rapporte que les cachots de Barcelone sont remplis de suspects et que le comte d'Espagne semble résolu à faire couler le sang; le 28 on annonce que douze constitutionnels ont été condamnés à mort; le 8 décembre on apprend que les condamnés ont été exécutés; le 19 enfin on affirme que dans les cachots de la citadelle d'autres constitutionnels attendent leur supplice, que la persécution est à l'ordre du jour, que la terreur est peinte sur tous les visages, et que la ville commence à se dépeupler.<sup>27</sup> Mais jusqu'alors rien dans les nouvelles de Catalogne n'autorisait à parler de terreur: si Beyle était allé à Barcelone entre le 21 septembre et le 24 octobre 1828, ce n'eût donc assurément pas été pour y voir une terreur dont les journaux n'avaient pas encore soufflé mot.

Par contre, au cours de l'été de 1829, comment ne se fût-il pas intéressé à l'affreuse situation de Barcelone sous le joug du comte d'Espagne? Dans les derniers jours de mai, on avait appris la découverte d'une prétendue conspiration ourdie dans les principales villes du Midi de la France, par l'union des *agraviados* et des constitutionnels, pour renverser le trône de Ferdinand VII; et bientôt les nouvelles sinistres s'étaient multipliées dans le *Constitutionnel* et le *Courrier français*. Le 12 juin: «On s'attend tous les jours à quelque extravagance de la part du capitaine-général de la Catalogne. A Barcelone les personnes qui le voient de près assurent que le noble comte couve quelque projet sinistre, et qu'on ne tardera pas à entendre le canon de la mort. On désigne vingt-deux victimes, et on assure que leur exécution aura lieu avant la fête de S. M. Ferdinand VII.» Le 26 juillet: «La terreur se répand partout; les relations sociales sont interrompues; tout le monde vit dans l'isolement; les amendes, les emprisonnements, les exils, et même les échafauds ne suffisent pas pour assouvir la vengeance; toutes les persécutions sont bonnes, et l'homme le plus honnête devient la victime du caprice du dernier des alguazils ou de l'agent de police que le comte d'Espagne a autorisés à arrêter ceux qui, pour le

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Constitutionnel*, 21, 27, 28, 31 août, 1<sup>er</sup>, 6, 14, 22 septembre, 1<sup>er</sup>, 7, 11, 24 octobre, 9, 28 novembre, 8, 19 décembre 1828; *Courrier français*, 14, 28 août, 1<sup>er</sup>, 14 septembre, 9, 11, 24, 26 octobre, 4, 9, 17 novembre, 10, 19 décembre 1828.

moindre geste ou la moindre parole, leur deviendraient suspects.» Le 1<sup>er</sup> août: «Deux cent cinquante citoyens des plus notables de la province ont été embarqués sur un brick et envoyés à Ceuta, après avoir été dépouillés de leurs habits et revêtus de l'uniforme des galériens. La terreur est à son comble à Barcelone, et les Français n'y sont pas plus en sûreté que les sujets de Ferdinand VII.» Le 6 août: «Treize individus se sont donné la mort dans les oubliettes de Barcelone, l'un en avalant du poison, l'autre en s'ouvrant une artère; celui-ci en s'étranglant, celui-là en se perçant le cœur etc., etc.; leur situation déplorable les a portés à ce dernier acte du plus cruel désespoir. Tous les jours on annonce de pareils malheurs.» Le 9 août: «La nuit dernière a mis le comble à toutes les horreurs auxquelles cette ville est en proie, et deux cents individus, choisis parmi les dix-huit cents prisonniers d'état enfermés dans les prisons, ont été embarqués dans la nuit et expédiés aux *présides* de Ceuta. Immédiatement après leur départ, treize moines ont été introduits dans la citadelle pour assister seize individus qu'on disait être en chapelle. Le fait était malheureusement trop vrai; sur seize, un est tombé roide mort à la lecture de son arrêt; la peine de six autres a été commuée en celle des galères perpétuelles; et ce matin l'on a fusillé neuf individus, tous ayant appartenu à l'ancienne armée constitutionnelle, et qui s'étaient distingués pendant la guerre de l'indépendance.» Le 28 août: «Nos prisons sont encombrées de malheureux qui n'attendent que les galères ou l'échafaud, et dont les familles et les amis sont plongés dans les plus cruelles angoisses. Dans les rues on n'ose pas même se regarder dans la crainte qu'un regard ne soit interprété comme un signe de conspiration.»<sup>23</sup> Il y avait certes dans de telles nouvelles de quoi indigner une âme généreuse; mais il y avait aussi de quoi tenter un esprit toujours avide de sonder les profondeurs du cœur humain et de cueillir sur le vif de ces beaux exemples d'énergie qu'engendrent les époques de crise. Et puisque avec les *Promenades dans Rome* M. de Stendhal avait épuisé ses souvenirs d'Italie, quelles circonstances plus favorables aurait-il pu souhaiter pour aller explorer, en quête de grands caractères, cette Espagne dont il rêvait depuis si longtemps?

C'est donc le 8 septembre 1829 que Beyle est parti de Paris pour

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Constitutionnel*, 27 mai, 12 juin, 26 juillet, 1<sup>er</sup>, 6, août; *Courrier français*, 9 août; *Constitutionnel*, 28 août 1829. Voir en outre: *Constitutionnel*, 13, 14 juin, 24 juillet, 9 août, 6 octobre; *Courrier français*, 26 juillet, 6 août, 25 septembre, 18 octobre 1829.

Bordeaux; c'est en septembre 1829 que, par Toulouse, Carcassonne et Figières, il a poussé jusqu'à Barcelone pour y aller voir la terreur; c'est en octobre 1829 qu'il a conçu à Marseille la première idée de *Julien*; et c'est en octobre ou novembre 1829 qu'il a revu Grenoble. Une date nous manque encore, celle de son retour à Paris; mais une curieuse note autographe des *Promenades* nous permet de la deviner à quelques jours près: «December the third 1829. I send Vani[na] Vani[ni] to M. Ver[on]. Yesterday I speak drama with Clar[a Gazul] and see Sanscrit the first time after 85 days, and see ohimé the Bar[on].»<sup>29</sup> Le mercredi 2 décembre 1829 est donc pour Beyle une journée particulièrement bien remplie. Il la commence par une causerie avec Mérimée sur l'art dramatique, peut-être à propos de l'*Occasion* que l'auteur de *Clara Gazul* vient justement de publier dans la *Revue de Paris* du 29 novembre. Puis il revoit pour la première fois, après une séparation de 85 jours, cette mystérieuse Sanscrit dont il est si amoureux depuis le printemps précédent;<sup>30</sup> mais 85 jours comptés à partir du 2 décembre nous ramènent précisément au 8 septembre, date du départ pour Bordeaux: c'est donc le voyage dans le Midi qui a si longtemps séparé les deux amants; et comment supposer qu'à son retour Dominique ait tardé à se mettre en quête de l'amie de son cœur? Quant au Baron retrouvé sans enthousiasme, c'est probablement le baron de Mareste, ce fidèle compagnon que Beyle rencontre tous les matins au Café de Rouen depuis plus de huit ans et qu'il retrouve le soir dans le monde, mais à qui il reproche depuis quelque temps un ton de supériorité blessant, et dont il est peut-être un peu jaloux, ayant le talent malheureux de rendre ses amis amoureux de ses maîtresses et ses maîtresses amoureuses de ses amis: en tout cas, un mois plus tard, leurs relations vont se refroidir sensiblement.<sup>31</sup> Mérimée, Sanscrit, Mareste, ce sont les amitiés et les amours de Beyle qui se renouent ce mercredi 2 décembre 1829, après trois mois d'entracte. Le lendemain, le jeudi 3, c'est son activité littéraire qui reprend: il envoie à M. Véron pour la *Revue de Paris* sa nouvelle de *Vanina Vanini*; et,

<sup>29</sup> *Promenades dans Rome*, exemplaire cité, I, gardes à la fin du volume, fol. 22 verso, au crayon.

<sup>30</sup> Il en a par deux fois glissé le nom dans les notes des *Promenades*, le 21 mars et le 19 avril 1829: cf. *Promenades dans Rome*, éd. cit., I, 369, note 1; et II, 460, note 1. Cette Sanscrit est d'ailleurs moins mystérieuse qu'il ne paraît à première vue.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Souvenirs d'égotisme*, éd. cit., pp. 102, 21, 19. A moins qu'il ne s'agisse du Baron Gérard, chez lequel Beyle fréquentait assidument, et dont le jour de réception était précisément le mercredi.

piqué des critiques du *Globe*, qu'il vient sans doute seulement de découvrir, il se met en devoir de justifier les *Promenades* du reproche de légèreté par une seconde édition toute bardée de notes savantes.<sup>32</sup> Le vendredi 4, il reparait au Théâtre-Français pour la première de l'*Elisabeth d'Angleterre* d'Ancelet.<sup>33</sup> Dès lors, les notes autographes se multiplient sur les feuillets blancs des *Promenades*, et nous permettent de suivre notre homme presque pas à pas dans ses travaux et ses amours.<sup>34</sup>

Puisque c'est en 1829 que Beyle fit son voyage dans le Midi et son excursion en Espagne, pourquoi les a-t-il donc si invariablement placés en 1828 dans *Lucien Leuwen*, la *Vie de Henri Brulard*, le *Voyage dans le Midi* et la note rétrospective des *Promenades*? Peut-être parce qu'il écrivait plusieurs années après les événements et que, n'ayant pas tenu de journal de ce voyage, il n'en avait de son propre aveu gardé aucun souvenir net. Peut-être surtout parce qu'il n'avait jamais eu que peu de mémoire des faits et ne prétendait à la véracité qu'en ce qui touchait ses sentiments, comme il le reconnaît lui-même dans sa *Vie de Henri Brulard*,<sup>35</sup> où les confusions de dates sont en effet nombreuses. Il place par exemple «en 1824 ou 1826» ses entretiens avec Lamartine à Florence,<sup>36</sup> qui eurent nécessairement lieu pendant son séjour d'octobre-décembre 1827, dont les dates sont attestées par plusieurs documents irréfutables.<sup>37</sup> Il lui arrive même de se tromper implicitement d'un an sur la date de la catastrophe la plus récente de sa vie sentimentale, sa rupture avec Menti, à la suite de laquelle il s'établit homme d'esprit. Il déclare en effet une première fois: «J'ai été homme d'esprit depuis l'hiver 1826, auparavant je me taisais par paresse»; et il répète quelques pages plus bas: «Je ne me suis donné cette peine, je n'ai pris cet état d'improviser en dialogue au profit de la

<sup>32</sup> *Promenades dans Rome*, exemplaire cité, I, gardes au début du volume, fol. 1; II, gardes à la fin, fol. 1. C'est le 24 octobre que le *Globe* avait publié un compte-rendu des *Promenades* signé O. (Duvergier de Hauranne).

<sup>33</sup> *Promenades dans Rome*, exemplaire cité, I, gardes à la fin du volume, fol. 21 verso.

<sup>34</sup> Le fait qu'entre le 8 septembre et le 3 décembre 1829 il ne se trouve dans l'exemplaire Serge André des *Promenades* presque aucune annotation datée semble indiquer que, si Beyle emporta avec lui ces deux volumes, il ne les ouvrit guère pendant les quelque quatre-vingts jours de son voyage.

<sup>35</sup> *Vie de Henri Brulard*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1927), I, 158.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> *Correspondance*, II, 474 et 480; G. Charlier, *Stendhal et ses amis belges* (Paris: Divan, 1931), pp. 75-82; et Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, «Nuove tracce di Stendhal a Firenze», *Marsocco*, 4 dicembre 1932, pp. 1-2.



société où je me trouvais, qu'en 1826, à cause du désespoir où je passai les premiers mois de cette année fatale.»<sup>38</sup> Or nous savons indubitablement par ailleurs que c'est du 15 septembre 1826 que date sa rupture avec Menti, et que c'est en octobre que son désespoir fut à son comble:<sup>39</sup> ce n'est donc pas depuis les premiers mois ou depuis l'hiver de 1826 que ce désespoir a pu faire de lui un homme d'esprit, mais bien depuis les derniers mois de 1826 ou l'hiver de 1827, comme lui-même nous le dit par deux fois dès 1832 dans les *Souvenirs d'égotisme*, lorsqu'il note que la réputation d'esprit lui est venue «après l'affreux malheur du 15 septembre 1826» ou fixe à 1827 l'époque où il s'est «mis à avoir de l'esprit».<sup>40</sup> Son erreur rétrospective d'un an sur la date du voyage dans le Midi ne doit donc pas être considérée comme une défaillance exceptionnelle et inexplicable.

En tout cas, c'est immédiatement après le retour de Beyle à Paris que l'Espagne entre dans l'œuvre de M. de Stendhal. Que servirait-il de passer deux fois les Pyrénées si l'on ne rapportait d'outre-monts, tout comme M. de Chateaubriand, le germe de quelque nouvelle espagnole, voire même andalouse? Négligent un moment la seconde édition des *Promenades*, notre voyageur se met à l'œuvre; et le 25 décembre, soir de Noël, il lit à Mérimée la première esquisse d'une sombre intrigue de sang, de volupté et de mort, dont la scène est à Grenade: c'est *Le Coffre et le Revenant*, *aventure espagnole*, qui paraîtra le 9 mai dans la *Revue de Paris*. Un mois après, pour se distraire de *Mina* et de *Julien*, il revient à l'Espagne et achève en trois jours, les 24, 25 et 26 janvier, une curieuse histoire de passion insurmontable dont l'héroïne est une jeune Espagnole réfugiée de Carthagène à Bordeaux: c'est *Le Philtre*, *imité de l'italien de Silvia Valaperta*, qui paraîtra à son tour le 6 juin dans la *Revue de Paris*. Est-il besoin d'ajouter que, pour le *Coffre* comme pour le *Philtre*, M. de Stendhal a cavalièrement mis à contribution les collaborateurs les plus inattendus, et les plus incapables de protester? Mais ceci est une autre histoire.

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<sup>38</sup> *Vie de Henri Brulard*, I, 18 et 20.

<sup>39</sup> *Souvenirs d'égotisme*, pp. 15 et 34; *Vie de Henri Brulard*, I, 4; *Promenades dans Rome*, exemplaire cité, notes rétrospectives, I, gardes au début du volume, fol. 9 verso, et II, gardes à la fin, fol. 22 verso; *Armance*, exemplaire Clodoveo Buccì, notes rétrospectives reproduites dans *Armance*, éd. R. Lebègue (Paris: Champion, 1925), pp. xxix-xxxi, en notes.

<sup>40</sup> *Souvenirs d'égotisme*, pp. 15 et 127.



LECONTE DE LISLE'S POEMS ON  
PETER THE CRUEL<sup>1</sup>

THERE are elements in Leconte de Lisle's *Les inquiétudes de Don Simuel*, *Le romance de Don Fadrique*, and *Le romance de Doña Blanca*, poems dealing with incidents in the life of Peter the Cruel of Castile, which indicate a historical source. Such is the figure of the King's treasurer, Don Simuel, familiar to anyone who has studied the history of Peter the Cruel. Such is also Pero López, the *chef des massiers*. Such too are a great many other details.

The Parnassian poet, however, did not need to have recourse to Spanish sources for these elements, for they were conveniently accessible in French form. In the second half of the nineteenth century, when Leconte de Lisle was writing, there were in existence many French accounts of the events in Don Pedro's history. One of the best of these was Prosper Mérimée's *Histoire de Don Pèdre*,<sup>2</sup> which follows the fourteenth-century Ayala chronicle closely. Several circumstances lead to the conclusion that this work was indeed Leconte de Lisle's chief source. It also appears that the poet used not the Damas-Hinard translations of the ballads but the prose renderings of two of the best known of them, the one on the death of Don Fadrique, the other on that of Doña Blanca, published by Mérimée in the appendix of his history.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Leconte de Lisle had undoubtedly read J. de Marlès's *Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal*.<sup>4</sup> He was also familiar with Alexandre Dumas's *Bâtard de Mauléon* and may have known Heine's *Spanische Atriden*. Let us consider to what extent these works enter into the Don Pedro poems.

<sup>1</sup> This study is intended to supplement and correct Joseph Vianey, *Les sources de Leconte de Lisle* (Montpellier, 1907), and Roger Delcambre, "L'Hispanisme de deux Parnassiens," *Hispania*, XXVII (Paris, 1922), 238-78.

<sup>2</sup> 1848.

<sup>3</sup> Mérimée did not seem to know of Damas-Hinard's French rendering of the *Romancero*—although this had appeared in 1844—for he says in a note: "Parmi les romances je n'ai traduit que celles qui renferment quelques détails historiques. Pour les autres, on peut consulter le *Romancero general* ou le *Tesoro de Romances* publié par M. Ochoa." The Damas-Hinard translations too are in prose.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, 1825.

## "LES INQUIÉTUDES DE DON SIMUEL"

Leconte de Lisle had read Marlès's and Mérimée's accounts of the events which preceded Abou Sayd's flight from Granada, he knew that Don Pedro's victim had helped Ismail dethrone his brother, Mohamad, and then had himself usurped the crown—incidents which were accompanied by copious bloodshed.<sup>5</sup> When the king of Castile took up the cause of the exiled Mohamad and with him entered Granada, more blood was spilt, and Abou Sayd, although at first successful in the struggle for supremacy, realized that the allegiance of the people was turning from him to their rightful king. Hence the *sanglantes tueries* from which the Emyr had escaped, according to Leconte de Lisle's poem, and which are absent from the ballads.

The *sauf conduit royal* is the one detail that might be thought to point to a Spanish source. Durán gives the following heading to the first of the two ballads on the subject: "El Rey Bermejo, de Granada, pide al Rey Don Pedro socorro contra su hermano, y el Rey lo hace matar sobre seguro."<sup>6</sup> The *Cuarta crónica general* states on this point: "E el Rey Bermejo dixo que le placía; pero que le embiase su seguro; e el rey Don Pedro gelo embió, e luego se vino este rey Bermejo para Sevilla. ..."<sup>6</sup>

It is doubtful, however, whether Leconte de Lisle used either of these sources. Had he consulted the Spanish ballad collection, it is almost certain that he would have made an attempt at least to approximate the Spanish ballad meter. The variety of verse forms which we find in Leconte de Lisle's poems on Spanish subjects is due to the fact that the poet's sources were in prose, and the choice of meters was therefore left to him. Again, had Leconte de Lisle used the *Cuarta crónica general*, he would probably have introduced the picturesque detail of Don Pedro inviting the Moor to attend the baptism of his son. It is quite possible that the poet may have known of the *Cuarta crónica* by mere hearsay without having consulted the work itself. For, after all, we have no evidence that he had even a superficial knowledge of Spanish.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Augustín Durán, "Romancero general o colección de romances castellanos," *BAE*, XVI, No. 976.

<sup>6</sup> *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, CVI, 79.

<sup>7</sup> The use of dashes as quotation marks and the writing of "Rey" with a capital are mere superficialities which he could have learned from one of his Spanish-speaking friends—Heredia, for instance—without himself possessing any extensive command of the language.

All of those details of which the final source is Ayala, as well as others not in Ayala, could have been derived from Mérimée's history. Mérimée, too, writes *Don Simuel*,<sup>8</sup> and his *Abou Saïd* is closer to Leconte de Lisle's *Abou Sayd* than is the *Abu Sayd* of the Ayala note. As for the Moor's dying words to Don Pedro, "petite est ta chevalerie," they are taken bodily from Mérimée,<sup>9</sup> who translated them from Ayala's "¡Oh qué pequeña caballería feciste!"<sup>10</sup> Leconte de Lisle himself added the realistic gesture, *crachant de dédain*. In addition, in both Mérimée and the Parnassian poem, the Moor was fastened to *poteaux*, a detail which goes back to the *Cuarta crónica general*, neither Ayala nor the ballads mentioning it. Leconte de Lisle merely elaborated on Mérimée, writing:

Contre autant de poteaux plantés de place en place,  
Abou Sayd et ses compagnons, bras et flancs  
Liés de chanvre, aux cris vils de la populace,  
Immobiles sont là nus et déjà sanglants.

Again, in Leconte de Lisle, the weapons hurled at Abou Sayd are *djerrids aigus, traits dardés*. Mérimée speaks of *dards, javeline, traits*, while the ballads and Ayala mention only lances. In the *djerrids*, Leconte de Lisle was drawing on his general knowledge of Moorish weapons in order to add local color to his account. As regards the presentation of the execution as a sort of game at *cañas*, it, too, is in Mérimée: "Aussitôt des hommes d'armes et même des chevaliers castillans, caracolant autour des prisonniers comme dans une course de cannes, les prirent pour but de leurs dards et les tuèrent les uns après les autres."<sup>11</sup> The suggestion that Don Pedro put to death the Moorish chief in order that he might enrich himself with his spoils Mérimée attributes to Ayala. From him he also has taken the episode where Don Pedro, while playing dice, complains of his reduced treasury, and Simuel el Levi offers to raise funds for him. It is probably true that this incident gave Leconte de Lisle the idea of at-

<sup>8</sup> His responsibility for the death of Abou Sayd is the invention of the poet.

<sup>9</sup> (Paris, 1865 ed.), p. 322.

<sup>10</sup> "Crónica del Rey Don Pedro," *BAE*, LXVI, Año 13, Cap. 5. The Moor's dying words have been given in various ways. Damas-Hinard's translation of the ballad has "tu as fait là une chevauchée dont tu ne retireras pas beaucoup d'honneur"; Mariès writes "quelle honteuse victoire tu remportes sur moi!" (p. 244), which is his translation of Conde's paraphrase. The Spanish ballads have "¡... Hecho has corta cabalgada!" and "¡Oh qué torpe triunfo ... habéisos ganado ...!"

<sup>11</sup> P. 322.

tributing to the Jew the plan to fill the royal exchequer at the expense of Abou Sayd. The fact that the poet did not call this a "romance" like the other two Don Pedro poems is an additional proof that he used neither the original Spanish ballads nor the Damas-Hinard translation but Mérimée's history, where only the Don Fadrique and the Doña Blanca ballads are found. Leconte de Lisle probably had no idea that there existed ballads on the cruel execution of the Moor.

"LE ROMANCE DE DON FADRIQUE"

In this work, too, Leconte de Lisle used as his main source Mérimée's history. Additional sources are Mérimée's translation of the ballad and Dumas's *Bâtard de Mauléon*. One detail may have been taken from Heine's *Spanische Atriden*.

That Mérimée's translation of the ballad rather than Damas-Hinard's was utilized is clear from the following circumstances: (1) The name of the King's brother is *Don Fadrique*, as in Mérimée, not *Don Frédéric*, as in Damas-Hinard; (2) The cleric is a *clerc tonsuré*, not a *clerc ordonné*;<sup>12</sup> (3) Fadrique has captured *Coimbre*, not *Coymbre*; (4) the dog is a *dogue*, not an *alan*.<sup>13</sup>

In presenting the cleric as warning Fadrique the poet had no need to resort to the *Crónica de las tres órdenes y cavallertas de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara* by Rades y Andrada, for Mérimée discusses the matter, giving this authority as the source of his information.<sup>14</sup>

The picturesqueness of the description of the Maestre's costume and of the country he traverses together with the barking of the Maestre's dog were probably inspired by Dumas's *Bâtard de Mauléon*, a novel on Don Pedro's time. In view of Leconte de Lisle's great admiration for Dumas,<sup>15</sup> we may safely assume that he had read this

<sup>12</sup> Damas-Hinard uses the term *ordonné* advisedly. He explains it thus: "D'après les Partidas, les clercs dans le droit canonique, étaient ordonnés, 1. pour l'Épître; 2. pour l'Évangile; 3. pour la messe. Le clerc du degré inférieur ne pouvait pas dire la messe. Toute transgression à cette règle était punie d'une interdiction à vie. V part I, tit. 6, l. 9."

<sup>13</sup> Mérimée again did not comprehend the exact meaning of the Spanish word *alán*, or he would not have rendered it as *dogue*. Damas-Hinard offers the following note on the word: "L'alan est une espèce de chien de chasse originaire d'Albanie. On voit, par plusieurs passages des Chroniques de Froissart, que, au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les alans d'Espagne étaient fort estimés, et que les rois de ce pays en envoyaient volontiers en présent aux autres princes." A person with Leconte de Lisle's love of accuracy would not have ignored this information had he known it.

<sup>14</sup> P. 236.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Marius-Ary Leblond, *Leconte de Lisle d'après des documents nouveaux* (Paris, 1906), pp. 49, 120.

work. In the Romantic novel as in the Parnassian poem, the Master of Santiago wears the white mantle of his order. Both speak of the perfumed air of Seville, which is the more penetrating for the noonday heat in which the master arrives. Leconte de Lisle, to be sure, adds other colorful particulars.

The poet's words—

... Son dogue, très doux et tres joyeux naguère,  
A mordu les naseaux de son cheval de guerre,  
Et hurlé de façon lamentable au départ—

correspond to Dumas's account of the repeated howlings of the Maestre's dog just before the departure for Seville. Finally:

... Don Frédéric l'écarta du pied, et malgré toutes ces démonstrations de son chien fidèle, se mit en selle et donna l'ordre du départ. Alors, comme s'il eût compris cet ordre et que cet ordre l'eût désespéré, le chien sauta à la gorge du destrier et le mordit cruellement.<sup>10</sup>

As regards Leconte de Lisle's alteration of the time spent by the master in transit from Coimbre to Seville, Delcombre's explanation that he wished to have him arrive on the thirteenth day as a presage is undoubtedly correct. Putting that arrival at noon is from Dumas.

As in the case of *Les inquiétudes de Don Simuel*, all the details which go back to Ayala are found in Mérimée's history. Such are the *chef des massiers*, Pero López, the killing of the master with a mace rather than by decapitation, the master's unsuccessful attempt to unsheathe his sword, etc. Mérimée's translation of

—En mal hora vengais, Maestre,  
Maestre mal seais llegado—

is also closer to Leconte de Lisle's

—A la male heure êtes venu vous mettre  
Entre mes mains, Bâtard!

than is the original or Damas-Hinard's translation:

Soyez venu à la male-heure, grand-maitre!—Grand-maitre, soyez le mal venu!

Mérimée has

—A la male heure vous venez, Maître; Maître, soyez le mal venu.

Here Leconte de Lisle gets his indicative construction.

<sup>10</sup> Vol. I, chap. iii.

The incident in which the dog brings his master's severed head and drops it among the viands on the table where the King is dining with María de Padilla may have been suggested to him by Heine's *Spanische Atriden*, where the dog jumps on the master's vacant chair at the table and offers the head to the diners. That Leconte de Lisle read and admired Heine we know, for he said of him: "... M. Henri Heine, ce nerveux et brillant écrivain, dont nous avons tous admiré les remarquables études sur le génie d'Allemagne."<sup>17</sup> Our poet, to be sure, is never a servile imitator. He takes an idea and re-works it in his own way.

"LE ROMANCE DE DOÑA BLANCA"

In this as in the other Don Pedro poems appear several characters that existed historically. They are Juan Fernandez de Hinestrosa and Perez Rebolledo.<sup>18</sup> The source of these names, however, as in the case of Don Simuel and Pero Lopez, is not Ayala but Mérimée's history of Peter the Cruel. For Ayala writes Juan Ferrandez de Henestrosa, while Mérimée has the form given by Leconte de Lisle. As has been pointed out, it is an invention on the part of the poet to represent Don Pedro as trying to induce Hinestrosa to murder the Queen, this rôle being assigned to an Ortiz by both history and popular tradition. Probably the fact that Hinestrosa had on another occasion—when Pedro sent her to Toledo—acted as Blanca's jailor gave the poet the idea of presenting him thus. That Leconte de Lisle did it purposely and not through ignorance is clear, for he mentions Ortiz later as the *châtelain*, who, as Pedro says, "n'est pas mon homme." When he has the King say to Hinestrosa,

Quand mes frères bâtards, m'assaillant à l'envi,  
Saccageaient mes châteaux et me vidaient mes coffres,  
Quasi seul, entre tous, au mépris de leurs offres,  
Vous me fûtes fidèle, et m'avez bien servi,

he is undoubtedly thinking of the time when Hinestrosa was imprisoned with Don Pedro at Toro by the bastard brothers and others of the royal relatives. In this remark he again shows his general knowledge of Don Pedro's reign. Mérimée as well as Ayala represents Perez de Rebolledo as the one who is supposed finally to have done away

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Leblond, p. 110.

<sup>18</sup> Leconte de Lisle for exigencies of rhyme inverts this, making it Rebolledo Perez.

with the Queen. Mérimée, however, is inclined to think that Blanca was not murdered but died a natural death.

There is lack of agreement in the sources as regards the manner of the Queen's death, the ballads speaking of her as being killed by a mace, Ayala giving the impression that she was poisoned with *yerbas*, and the *Cuarta crónica general* describing her as being smothered *con una toca*. In one variant of the fourteenth-century Curvelier chronicle of the exploits of Bertrand du Guesclin, the chief of the Routiers mentioned in Leconte de Lisle's last stanza, the King says to the one he has selected to kill her:

Mourir convient la dame, plus on n'y attendra;  
Mais je voudroie bien, ja celle ne sera,  
C'on ne peust savoir dont telle mort vendra.  
—Sire, dist le Juif, on vous conseillera:  
La dame en son dormant estaindre convendra,  
Plaie ne horion sur son corps n'avendra;<sup>19</sup>

Here we have the desire of the King to conceal the violence of the Queen's death, which is absent from Ayala and the ballads, but which we find in Leconte de Lisle's poem:

Ni lutte, ni cris. Point de vestige sanglant  
Qui puisse après sa mort apparaître sur elle.  
Qu'elle semble finir de façon naturelle,  
En proie à quelque mal sans remède et très lent.

In Cuvelier, however, she is not smothered by the hands of the executioner, as in Leconte de Lisle, but by a mechanical device.<sup>20</sup> The poet may have been familiar with the Cuvelier chronicle or some later version of it. As usual, he does not follow his source slavishly.

As for the place of execution, Leconte de Lisle knew the disagreement of authorities regarding the point, for Mérimée discusses it in a note, inclining to the opinion that the tragedy happened at Jerez, not Medina Sidonia.<sup>21</sup>

The Queen's request for a confessor is quite as well accounted for by Mérimée's translation of Durán 972 as by the original; so is also her pardon of the executioner, her invocation of France, and what she

<sup>19</sup> Cuvelier, *Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin*, published by E. Charrière (Paris, 1839) I, 251 ff.

<sup>20</sup> The *Bâtard de Mauléon* also represents the Queen as being smothered, but by means of a rope.

<sup>21</sup> Leconte de Lisle follows Marlès in writing it *Xerez* rather than *Jerez*.



says of her virginity. As for the error committed by Leconte de Lisle in Blanca's age, he knew that she was twenty-five and not seventeen, as stated in the ballad. He therefore had no scruples in changing the number in his turn to satisfy his meter. M. Delcombre is probably right in supposing that the poet had another reason for deducting from the Queen's age—that of arousing greater sympathy for her. Finally, the incident of the *pastorcico* is also related in Mérimée's history.<sup>22</sup>

In studying the sources of Leconte de Lisle's Don Pedro poems, one cannot but be impressed by the extent of the poet's historical knowledge. It is extremely unlikely, however, that he went to original Spanish sources for his information. Most of the details used by him were accessible in French form, and circumstances point to the French derivatives rather than to the Spanish originals as the works he utilized. Nor is it a discredit to the poet that he used secondary sources, for after all he chose those secondary sources with singular discrimination. Even today Mérimée stands out for the penetrating intelligence with which he interpreted the events of Don Pedro's reign.

We see from the fact that Leconte de Lisle drew upon Dumas that even the leader of the Parnassians did not disdain to appropriate a picturesque detail for which there was no historical foundation. He in his turn did not hesitate to invent other colorful additions which he thought might increase the artistic effect of his poem.

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<sup>22</sup> P. 328.

## ENGLISH MEDICAL PROVERBS

**M**EDICAL and physiological matters play an important rôle in the English proverb and proverbial phrase. In such traditional material we distinguish direct and indirect references to medical and physiological matters. Indirect references lie, of course, in the very nature of proverbs and need not concern us long here. Typical examples are "Coming events cast their shadows before";<sup>1</sup> "A new broom sweeps clean." Such proverbs apply to a physiological situation as well as to a domestic, political, or social one. Direct allusions draw a moral lesson from a physiological incident, e.g., "Accidents will happen"; or they give medical advice, e.g., "An apple a day keeps the doctor away." I shall review briefly the varieties of physiological incidents used in these ways and then examine in detail the second class of direct allusions, proverbs which advise concerning physiological matters. These last may be considered medical proverbs in the narrow sense.

Though many proverbial phrases and a few Wellerisms fall under the general heading of medical proverbial lore, by far the greater number are true proverbs. Many of these proverbs use a physiological incident or situation to teach a lesson; some are platitudes. In general, they deal with human beings, but animals are occasionally employed. Proverbs which deal with human beings utilize a great variety of physiological situations, e.g., ordinary life, eating, hunger, childbirth, sickness, mental states. Of these sickness contributes by far the greatest number of scenes for proverbial metaphor. Typical examples are: "What can't be cured, must be endured"; "It is good to have companions in misery," both old and familiar proverbs which have been current in English since the fourteenth century. "The comforter's head never aches" seems to have been especially popular in the late seventeenth century. Several proverbs use the word "better" to introduce the mention of illness: "Better a finger off than always ache";

<sup>1</sup> The proverbs cited are drawn, in the main, from those listed from A through D in G. L. Apperson, *English proverbs and proverbial phrases* (London and Toronto, 1929). The few oral examples given are so marked.

"Better tooth out than always ache"; "Better eye out than always ache"; "Better cut the shoe than pinch the foot." Proverbs which are made on this model have been current in English since the thirteenth century and are rather popular. "Bitter pills may have wholesome effects" and "Cutting out well is better than sewing up well" are reported but once in the English proverbial stock, though there is a vague reference to the former in Chaucer. The curious proverb "Any tooth, good barber" probably refers to the seventeenth-century custom of the barber playing the rôle of dentist. Finally, referable not only to sickness but to ordinary life also, there is the proverb "Age breeds aches." Though still current, it is mentioned as "old" in the seventeenth century. It will be seen from the examples cited that both proverbs and platitudes occur in these allusions to sickness and poor health.

There are a number of proverbs dealing with the ordinary physical and physiological conditions of daily life. Some summarize tersely and vividly a physiological fact: "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," a good illustration which has been current since the seventeenth century. "He begins to die that quits his desires" appears to be an earlier version of this proverb. Others merely draw a lesson from a physical or physiological situation in daily life, e.g., "Barbers learn to shave by shaving fools," popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "After death, the doctor," first noted in 1611, is a cryptic and cynical illustration of the proverbial observation on daily life. A few of these proverbs are comparisons: "As much need on't, as he hath of the pip, or of the cough," current in the seventeenth century, and "As old as Methuselah." The rather modern proverb, "You may play with a bull till you get his horn in your eye" illustrates the manner in which an animal is used in drawing a general lesson from homely scenes of daily life. This use of an animal is extremely rare. It is to be noted that there are no platitudes dealing with the physical and physiological situations of daily life.

Proverbs concerned with mental conditions are rare; they are generally platitudes. They personify the mental state and ascribe to it an activity belonging to a person. This peculiarity of form is not found so frequently in the other proverbial types, although we do have "Age breeds aches." Some examples are: "A clear conscience can bear any

trouble"; "An evil conscience breaks many a man's neck." Though these platitudes allude to several mental conditions, ordinarily an abstract mental state, conscience, love, fear, there is no mention of insanity or of disordered mentality.

Proverbs having as their subject matter the physiological function of eating are few: "He that bites on every weed must needs light on poison"; "It's no use my leaving off eating bread because you were choked with a crust"; "A little Coloquintida spoils all the broth"; "When the belly is full, the bones would be at rest." These proverbs were especially popular during the seventeenth century. There are no platitudes among them.

Proverbs of hunger have been current from the early seventeenth century to the present and undoubtedly reach much farther back. Typical examples are: "All things require skill but an appetite"; "The back may trust but the belly won't." This last proverb brings out the idea that the body must be supplied with food regardless of the urgency of a given situation. The modern "An army marches on its stomach" brings out the same idea in an apt manner. This proverb achieved wide popularity during the World War, but is considerably older in English proverbial lore.

Proverbs also draw general lessons from childbirth and from the behavior of children. An example of the first kind is "A broken leg (an illegitimate child) is not healed by a silk stocking." There is one curious example: "The child was born, and cried;/Because a man fell sick, and died." Here we have two things connected which have no possible connection in fact. Proverbs about children and their behavior are rather rare: "To a child all weather is cold"; "A burnt child dreads the fire." This last proverb was translated from the Latin toward the close of the thirteenth century and remains in current use.

The proverbs mentioned thus far show only a general application of medical or physiological lore; they seldom deal with any specific ailment, except wounds. And, as may be inferred from the proportion of examples given under the several headings, proverbs concerned with sickness occupy the dominant position among those using a physiological incident to teach a lesson. It is curious that proverbs concerned with eating are less popular now than formerly. While the form of the medical proverb varies, those which use a physiological incident or

situation to teach a lesson employ only common proverbial modes; some are platitudes. Each special group, e.g., eating, sickness, etc., may be composed entirely of proverbs, or of platitudes, or a group may yield examples of both forms.

In addition to such medical proverbs, perhaps one of the most interesting English types is the proverb which gives medical advice—the true medical proverb. Such proverbs are rather numerous though they do not exist in such large numbers as those which employ a physiological situation or incident to teach a lesson. They give both general and specific medical advice. Of course, no proverbs give specific medical advice of a scientific nature, though they do tell what one should do for a certain ailment, always a rather common one. So specific a proverb is, however, rare. In general, proverbs which give medical advice are confined to broader disorders of human health. The proverbs in this group employ situations of a physiological nature exclusively.

Examples of proverbs giving general medical advice are: "He that bewails himself hath the cure in his hands"; the opposite idea is expressed in "Care is no cure." Both were popular during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the latter was the more common; "After your fling, watch for the sting" is a modern example of this type. One quaint, ingenious example especially popular in the sixteenth century, and still current in the late nineteenth, though considerably toned down, is the following: "Beware of the forepart of a woman, the hind part of a mule, and all sides of a priest."

As might easily be anticipated, proverbs relating to diet are extremely common and very popular indeed. Typical examples are: "After dinner sit awhile;/After supper walk a mile"; "Better are meals many than one too merry"; "He that banquets every day, never makes a good meal." The first example has been popular since the sixteenth century and is still current, though the oral versions heard today generally confine themselves to the idea expressed in either one of the two phrases, seldom mentioning the two together. Though all three examples are old, the latter two are no longer popular. There are a few specific references to gluttony: "Better fill a glutton's belly than his eye," dating from the sixteenth century; probably the modern "His eye is bigger than his stomach" (oral) is an outgrowth of this proverb.

"A belly full of gluttony will never study willingly," which echoes the medieval Latin "*Plenus venter non studet libenter*," possesses diagnostic elements also.

In addition to general references to the diet and to gluttony, proverbs speak of bread, beverages, fruit, vegetables, etc., though such modern foods as tea, coffee, potatoes, or bananas are not mentioned. Examples are: "Be fair conditioned and eat bread with your pudding"; "Bread and cheese are two targets against death"; "Bread is the staff of life, but beer's life itself." The first two date from the seventeenth century; the last is modern. Occasionally proverbs use an element of time in relation to diet: "It is a good thing to eat your brown bread first"; "Butter is gold in the morning, silver at noon, and lead at night." It is interesting to note that this proverb combines diet, the time element, and a comparison of relative values of a non-physiological nature. This particular formula is reported first in the sixteenth century and has been exceptionally popular ever since. There are oral variants in which "oranges" or "onions" replace "butter." "Those that eat black pudding will dream of the devil," eighteenth century, possesses an element of superstition.

Apples supply material for a number of English medical proverbs. Examples are: "Apples, eggs, and nuts one may eat after sluts," popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though known in the nineteenth century as well, may make reference to social disease and general infection; in any event it refers to sanitation as well as to diet. "An apple a day keeps the doctor away," probably one of the most popular medical proverbs of modern times, needs no discussion; there are many versions, though it is not reported in English proverbial stock before the latter part of the nineteenth century. Both "Apples, pears, and nuts spoil the voice" and "Cider is treacherous because it smiles in the face and then cuts the throat" date from the seventeenth century. The first is a beautiful example of the specific medical proverb as it is found in folk tradition. Neither proverb has come down to modern times. Finally, we find a vague reference to diet like the modern "Better pay the butcher than the doctor," which also may be considered a proverb about the medical profession. Such proverbs will be discussed later.

A few proverbs giving proverbial medical advice are diagnostic. "If

he has blue veins on the nose, he'll never wear his wedding clothes," which we would expect to be old, is first reported in the latter part of the nineteenth century; there are several variants. "A cool mouth and warm feet live long" was popular during the seventeenth century. "A green Christmas makes a fat churchyard" has several variants and dates from the seventeenth century, running down into the nineteenth. Though not common, it illustrates the manner in which weather is used in the medical proverb. It does not appear to have ever gained noteworthy currency.

Reference to sleep is surprisingly rare, the only well-known example being "One hour's sleep before midnight is worth two after," dating from the sixteenth century. There is a modern slang version: "It's the sleep before twelve that counts" (oral). Less familiar examples are: "A quiet conscience causes a quiet sleep"; "A quiet conscience sleeps in thunder"; "Let not the child sleep upon bones." All examples given are old and have been common at some time or other.

Proverbs dealing with marriage are based on general observations of a physiological character, e.g., "First cousins may marry, second cousins can't, third cousins will marry, fourth cousins won't." This proverb is reported only once in the nineteenth century. It is rather surprising as to its conditions, for we would expect to find, through religious influence, a dictum against the marriage of first cousins. Other examples, from the sixteenth century, are: "More belongs to marriage than four bare legs in a bed"; "He that marries a slut eats mickle dirt."

Proverbs of sanitation are rare, the best example being the familiar "Cleanliness is next to godliness," known and used from the sixteenth century to the present. Of course, the general idea of cleanliness may be found in many medical proverbs which make reference to the advisability of eating such fruits as apples, pears, etc., under conditions where infection is most likely to occur.

The proverb "All's out is good for prisoners but naught for the eyes," sixteenth century, seems to have some relation to diet and to a physiological situation. Just what it means is not clear.<sup>2</sup>

A number of medical proverbs use as subject matter geographical

<sup>2</sup> It has been much discussed; see Archer Taylor, *The proverb* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 79-80.



names to which they attribute special physiological characteristics of the human body or localities which have been famous for their effect on general health. An example of the proverb which attributes good or bad health to certain localities is the following: "If you'd live a little while,/Go to Bapchild;/If you'd live long,/Go to Tenham or Tong." This example is one of the oldest of its kind, dating from the eighteenth century. "Bloxham for length, Adderbury for strength, but King's Sutton for beauty" and "Castleford women must needs be fair,/Because they wash both in Calder and Aire" characterize the notable features of people identified with the places named. The latter example gives the reason why the statement is true; this form is rare. Both proverbs are first recorded during the latter part of the nineteenth century. A small group of these proverbs which characterize people identified with a certain locality emphasize physical strength coupled with mental weakness. Typical examples are: "Cheshire born and Cheshire bred, /Strong i' th' arm and weak i' th' head"; "Cheshire men all strong i' th' arm and thick i' th' yed"; "Chepstow born and Chepstow bred, /Strong in the arm and weak in the head." All date from the nineteenth century. "Go to Battersea to be cut for the simples" refers to the fame of Battersea for the manufacture of medicine and growth of medicinal herbs. It was applied to one not overburdened with wits, and used in the eighteenth century. "Cheshire bred, beef down to th' heels" refers, of course, to obesity. "Borough men merry, more bread than drink" refers to a mental rather than a physical state and dates from 1639. Such use of geographical names in medical proverbs is found, with few exceptions, only in the nineteenth century, the last example being the oldest noted by at least a hundred years. It is evident that the proverbs in this group are modern.

Some medical proverbs give specific physiological occurrences which purport to reveal character. Examples are: "Blushing is a sign of grace," sixteenth century, and "He catches cold by lying in bed barefoot," a modern example, said of one who is extremely careful of himself. Several proverbs reflect the medieval notion of humors: "The choleric drinks, the melancholic eats, the phlegmatic sleeps" and "Cold of complexion, good of condition" were both current in the seventeenth century. Some of these medical proverbs are rather philosophical in

their implications. Typical examples are: "Children be first a yearmache and a'terwards a heart-ache"; "Children suck the mother when they are young and the father when they are old"; "The cholerick man never wants woe"; "We are usually the best men when in the worst health." This particular group has been current since the seventeenth century. It is possible that a careful study of this special kind of medical proverb might lead to interesting conclusions about English superstitions.

Proverbs about the medical profession are extremely rare in the English proverbial stock. Examples are: "Better pay the butcher than the doctor," a modern example, already mentioned; "A broken apothecary, a new doctor," seventeenth century. Possibly "After death, the doctor" belongs here also. Examples are too few for any general conclusions to be drawn with safety.

So much for the English medical proverb. In the preceding pages I have attempted to examine briefly, with some attention to detail in one or two cases, this type of proverb. There are, moreover, many proverbial phrases which may properly be called medical phrases. These phrases are all descriptive; they compare animals, plants, and inanimate objects to human appearance and to human physiological functions; they describe abnormal conditions of the human organism, both permanent and transient; they phrase sex relations and social disease; they mention death.

By far the largest group of medical phrases is that comparing human appearance and character with other objects, animate and inanimate. While the use of animals was found to be rare in the medical proverb, it is much used in the medical phrase. Typical examples are: "To blush like a black dog"; "As brisk as a body louse." Phrases of this general tone were especially popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. "To sweat like a brock" (badger) and "To stink like a brock" seem to have been current during the nineteenth century. The most modern phrase of this kind is "As hoarse as a cuckoo [or crow]." Greater delicacy of reference and inference may be noted in the more modern phrases. The use of a plant in this manner is rare, e.g., "As brown as a berry," current from the time of Chaucer to the present. Those phrases which use inanimate objects by way of com-

parison are very old, some going back to the thirteenth century; e.g., "As cold as a stone"; "As cold as ice."

Phrases meaning insanity are not unusual: "To have bats in the belfry"; "To have cobwebs in the belfry" (oral). These examples are very popular at the present. Older examples are: "To have crotchets in the head"; "To have none of his chairs at home." Temporary and mild forms of mental instability come in for attention also: "His head is full of bees" (he is restless, full of cares, fancies); "To be born in a frost" (to be a dullard); "To be cut for the simples." This last example has been current since the seventeenth century.

Medical phrases dealing with permanent physiological defects are not common: "Born in a mill" (deaf); "He was christened with pump-water" (he has a red face), largely used in the sixteenth century.

There are a few medical phrases descriptive of common physiological functions such as "All of a dither" (trembling); "To cast up accounts" (to vomit), an old bookkeeper's phrase; and one with a pun on Berkshire, "He is a representative of Barkshire" (applied to one who coughs).

Phrases concerned with inebriation are very common. There are many examples. Some make clear reference to the drunken state, while others appear to be somewhat obscure. Typical examples are: "One whom the brewer's horse hath bit"; "He has corn in the head"; "He has got a cup too much"; "To cock the little finger." These examples are clear enough. However, this cannot be said of the following: "He has got a piece of bread and cheese in his head"; "He has cut his leg." Phrases dealing with drunkenness have been cited in proverbial collections since the seventeenth century, but they certainly reach much farther back into English proverbial stock.

A small number of medical phrases deal with sex and social disease. It is worth mentioning that there are no references to legitimate childbirth among them. Typical examples are: "She hath broken her leg [or elbow] above the knee"; "He has broken his leg"; "He wears the bull's feather" (he is a cuckold). These phrases are largely from the seventeenth century; some are from the eighteenth. Examples of phrases descriptive of venereal disease are: "The Convent Garden ague"; "A Barnwell ague." These eighteenth-century phrases bear

some relationship to those proverbs of a medical character which use geographical names, already discussed. Modern versions of this sort are rare, probably because of the modern fashion of frankness in matters relating to sex.

For all our modern frankness, we have not yet managed to get away from euphemistic references to death: "He died like a Christom child"; "He has gone West" (oral); "He passed away like a sleeping babe" (oral). There are, of course, many modern variants of the two latter phrases.

Only a few Wellerisms<sup>3</sup> were found which could be included under the general classification of proverbial medical lore. An example is " 'I have cur'd her from laying [sic] in the hedge,' quoth the goodman when he had wed his daughter," early seventeenth century.

The English medical proverb and proverbial phrase covers a surprisingly large portion of English folklore subject matter. All the proverbs cited in the preceding pages fall easily into one of the several subheadings used, and yet an examination of the medical proverb permits one to see in cross-section the entire field of proverbial lore. We see in miniature what may be seen in a survey of the proverb as a vehicle for folk psychology.

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<sup>3</sup>Wellerisms are, in many respects, extremely interesting (see Taylor, pp. 200-220).

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Proceedings of the first international congress of literary history, Budapest, 1931.* "Bulletin of the international committee of historical sciences," No. 14 [February, 1932]. Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1932. Pp. 174.

M. Paul Van Tieghem, secrétaire du comité, a rendu un compte excellent, dans *Modern philology* (Novembre 1931), de ce premier congrès. On trouvera dans son article un exposé objectif, très clair et très judicieux, des communications publiées dans le présent bulletin; et nous y renvoyons pour éviter des répétitions. Mais je suis heureux de profiter de l'hospitalité de *Modern philology* pour exposer mon opinion personnelle sur les tendances de ce congrès. Il est d'abord très curieux de constater que ce congrès d'*histoire littéraire* a été, presque d'un bout à l'autre, un congrès de *philosophie de la littérature* et d'*esthétique littéraire*. Assurément entre l'*histoire littéraire* et la *philosophie de la littérature* les transitions sont insensibles. Si épris qu'il soit d'érudition pure, si soucieux qu'il se dise de ne jamais faire place à l'hypothèse, aucun historien et aucun historien de la littérature ne peut croire que l'histoire soit seulement une collection de faits; on cherche toujours une explication des faits; et il y a presque toujours dans cette explication quelque chose qui dépasse la signification immédiate des faits, c'est à dire une philosophie. Il y a pourtant une différence assez profonde entre l'explication de forme historique et l'explication de forme philosophique. L'historien tend vers les explications de plus en plus générales; mais il veut y être conduit par une série d'explications particulières qui ne soient vraiment qu'une conséquence immédiate des faits; et si ces explications particulières sont insuffisantes il remet à plus tard les explications plus générales; il aspire en un mot aux «grandes vues», il ne se flatte pas de les atteindre. Le philosophe au contraire s'installe dans les grandes vues. Quand il est sérieux, comme ce fut le cas des philosophes de ce congrès, il s'appuie évidemment sur des connaissances historiques précises, sur une abondance de faits. Mais ces faits ne sauraient, à beaucoup près, emplir le vaste cercle tracé par sa méditation; il admet donc implicitement que sa pensée a le droit et la possibilité de généraliser assez vite, de discerner ce qui, dans les cas particuliers, peut être tenu comme un exemple de ce qu'il juge constant et universel. L'esprit, d'après quelques aspects du réel, reconstitue tout le réel. Je n'ai pas du tout l'intention de contester l'intérêt de cette philosophie de la littérature; ce serait nier et l'intérêt de la philosophie et les services rendus, en France même, par des philosophies de la littérature, même erronées. On lira donc avec grand profit des exposés tels que ceux de

MM. Thienemann («Versuch einer Literaturphilosophie»); Nadler («Literatur, Rasse, Volk»); Schücking («Soziologie und Literatur»); Hankiss («La littérature, fonction vitale»); Cysarz («Dichtung, Geschichte, Dichtungsge-schichte»); Walzel («Gehalt und Gestalt im Kunstwerk des Dichters»). Mais, quel que soit leur intérêt, ce n'est pas à proprement parler de l'histoire. J'ajoute, et l'on verra tout à l'heure l'intérêt de cette remarque, que le profit qu'on en tire n'est pas celui de la clarté. Les professeurs qui les apportent auraient assez de mal à s'entendre entre eux, et à constituer un enseignement offrant quelque unité. Si l'on supposait qu'ils enseignent ensemble, selon leur méthode, dans une même université, on voit bien l'avantage qu'y trouveraient quelques esprits d'élite, obligés à suivre, pénétrer, comparer tant de réflexions curieuses et à choisir; mais quel trouble et quelle confusion pour la masse des étudiants. Je crois donc, pratiquement, que si, dans les grandes universités, la philosophie de la littérature l'emportait sur l'histoire, la «pensée pure» y gagnerait peut-être, mais aux dépens de la pensée claire. Je voudrais, pour ma part, que celle-ci ne fut point sacrifiée à celle-là.

Que dire de la plupart des autres exposés? Je laisse de côté ceux qui ont trait aux méthodes de la littérature comparée, mon incompetence ne me permet guère de les juger. Ils me semblent d'ailleurs solides, suggestifs et respectueux de l'histoire *historique* (MM. Eckhardt: «Problèmes de la littérature comparée dans l'Europe centrale»—Folkierski: «Littérature comparée ou Histoire littéraire nationale?»—Paul Van Tieghem: «La Littérature générale»). M. Baldensperger, qui présidait le Congrès et dont tous les travaux sont si puissamment appuyés sur l'érudition historique la plus précise, a voulu rester impartial et constater les divergences plutôt que choisir expressément. Par contre dans la majorité des rapports la méthode historique est condamnée, parfois avec quelques politesses et le plus souvent brutalement (par MM. Benedetto Croce, Dragomirescu, Luigi Rosso, Ermatinger, Bernard Faÿ, Lorentz Eckhoff). Seul M. Ascoli a pris nettement la défense de la méthode historique; et encore a-t-on dû pour l'entendre lui faire une place qu'il n'avait pas. Si bien que l'histoire littéraire, en l'honneur de qui ce congrès semblait avoir lieu, aurait pu dire, comme le personnage de comédie écoutant la lecture de l'acte notarié: «il n'est question que de ma mort là-dedans.» Je renvoie aux arguments si nets donnés par M. Ascoli pour prouver que cette mort serait bien fâcheuse. Et j'y ajoute, entre beaucoup d'autres, ceux que voici:

1. C'est au mépris de tous les faits et de tous les textes que les adversaires de l'histoire littéraire prêtent à ses défenseurs le dédain de tout ce qui n'est pas enquête érudite historique. Nul d'entre nous n'a jamais dit que la critique se confond tout entière avec l'histoire. L'histoire prépare, dirige; la critique de goût complète et achève.

2. Il est absurde de juger les idées et l'enseignement des partisans de l'histoire littéraire sur tout ou partie des livres qu'ils ont écrit. C'est leur droit d'écrire des livres qui sont surtout de l'histoire, parce que c'est vers ces études que leur tempérament les porte; c'est leur droit de laisser à d'autres le soin



d'écrire les critiques de goût que l'histoire a rendues possibles. Contester ce droit serait prétendre qu'on ne doit pas écrire de livres d'anatomie parce que ces livres ne sont pas de la biologie et que seule la biologie explique la vie. L'anatomie prépare la biologie. Notre histoire dirige la critique de goût et si nous ne faisons pas cette critique dans nos livres cela ne veut pas dire que nous l'ignorons dans notre enseignement.

3. Mais il est vrai que nous attachons une grande importance à l'histoire littéraire, *surtout dans l'enseignement supérieur*. Il est en effet nécessaire de faire une distinction qui n'est jamais assez nettement posée dans ces exposés. Autre chose est écrire un livre, des articles, autre chose enseigner dans une université. Et c'est du point de vue de l'enseignement que je voudrais surtout critiquer les méthodes qui bannissent l'histoire littéraire de l'étude de la littérature.

Une fois cette histoire exclue, il reste, si l'on suit bien les idées de nos adversaires, deux choses à enseigner : l'amour de la beauté littéraire, une culture esthétique—la psychologie du Génie, l'explication de ce fait, d'ailleurs incontestable, qu'avec des éléments, dans un milieu communs à tous, un homme crée un œuvre qui ne ressemble à aucune autre. Sur la nécessité de reconnaître et de faire goûter ce qui est essentiel dans la plupart des chefs-d'œuvre, la beauté; sur la nécessité de reconnaître et de tâcher d'expliquer l'originalité du chef-d'œuvre qui est délimitée et non déterminée par l'histoire, nous sommes d'accord, bien qu'ils disent le contraire, avec nos adversaires. Mais nous croyons que ce n'est pas tout. Que devient dans tout cela l'enseignement de «la recherche de la vérité»? Il est tout à fait absent de l'enseignement esthétique tel qu'il est préconisé par M. B. Faÿ. Ceux qui s'efforcent de pénétrer les mystères de la création géniale diront sans doute : nous découvrons et nous exposons la vérité de cette création. Mais il faudrait au moins qu'ils commencent à s'entendre entre eux, qu'à travers les divergences de détail on commence à discerner quelques explications stables. Jusqu'ici on ne peut discerner que les vérités d'un homme auxquelles un autre oppose, et parfois sans aménité, ses propres vérités. Même si l'on trouvait ces explications stables, elles seraient des vérités d'une certaine sorte, des vérités «d'intuition», des «communions avec le génie», des «participations à l'acte créateurs». On aspire à nous faire vivre dans une sorte d'état de transe où la vérité est moins raisonnée que sentie. Je n'ai pas le désir de nier l'intérêt et la portée de ces sortes de vérités et de communions. Mais l'humanité cultivée a vécu jusqu'ici avec la conviction qu'il y avait une autre sorte de vérité, des vérités «raisonnables» capables de s'imposer à tout homme de bonne foi s'il en a suivi et compris la démonstration; des vérités indépendantes de ses états d'âme, de sa «réceptivité», du don, réservé à quelques initiés, de pénétrer dans le monde des vérités immédiates et des certitudes premières. Ce sont des vérités de ce genre que poursuivent les sciences proprement dites. Et l'on peut prétendre qu'elles suffisent. Nous croyons, nous, qu'il n'en est rien. Car entre ces sciences de la matière, et la vie intérieure de l'homme il n'y a pas en réalité de



point de contact; nous en tirons des services pratiques pour la vie matérielle; nous sommes bien rarement tentés de leur demander des leçons pour penser et nous conduire. Les sciences historiques au contraire, et l'histoire de la littérature en particulier, s'efforcent, quand elles essaient d'être scientifiques, d'appliquer le même idéal de vérité objective, démontrable à tous partout et toujours, non plus à l'étude de la matière mais à celle de la vie.

Si l'on croit à cet idéal on est bien obligé de croire à la nécessité de lui soumettre notre enseignement supérieur. Car nous pouvons, nous devons jouer un rôle dans le développement du goût esthétique et l'admiration, la compréhension du génie. Mais nous n'y sommes pas indispensables. Il faut n'avoir jamais enseigné à de jeunes élèves, à l'âge où ils partent de rien, dans ces conditions où l'on sait que des maîtres médiocres n'ont pu former que la mémoire et des techniques, pour ne pas se rendre compte qu'il y a des maîtres tout trouvés qui apprennent à goûter les chefs-d'œuvre, ce sont les chefs-d'œuvre eux-mêmes. Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Musset, Vigny, Verlaine et des poètes contemporains; Balzac, Flaubert, Loti et cent romans d'aujourd'hui sont ceux qui donnent le goût de la poésie, le sens de l'art, le sens de la vie. Nous ne saurions nous passer d'eux; ils peuvent se passer de nous. Mais si les universités ne sont plus l'asile de la «science», si nous n'y apprenons plus ce qu'est la vérité historique, la vérité impersonnelle, et les méthodes patientes, austères, désintéressées qui y conduisent, qui donc s'en chargera? Il resterait bien nos livres, ceux d'historiens qui ont les mêmes scrupules et plus de talent que nous. Mais comme tout cela serait ignoré, dispersé, submergé par les vagues des passions humaines, par des «vérités» que crient confusément et impérieusement les forces des instincts, de la vie roulant ses torrents.

Bien entendu on a le droit de ne pas croire à cet idéal et de considérer avec scepticisme nos vérités. Il se peut que notre science soit une illusion, notre objectivité une duperie. Il n'y a peut-être de vérité que dans la force et la ruse, et elles se chargent de créer leurs vérités; qu'il s'agisse de la force brutale ou de celle des grandes vagues intérieures, obscures et dominatrices, qui mènent des hommes et les hommes. Les exposés de ce congrès sont un témoignage évident du discrédit où est tombée, dans certains milieux et peut-être dans certaines races, la «recherche de la vérité» telle que je la comprends et d'ailleurs telle que beaucoup la comprennent avec moi. Je laisse à chacun le soin d'en tirer des conclusions. Mais je continue à croire, nous continuons à croire que cet idéal est inséparable d'un certain idéal de justice, qu'il est nécessaire à l'humanité et que c'est notre mission de le faire connaître et de l'exalter. Les adversaires de l'histoire littéraire lui reprochent d'être une érudition stérile et un pédantisme paresseux. Nous la tenons, nous, pour une discipline courageuse et noble.

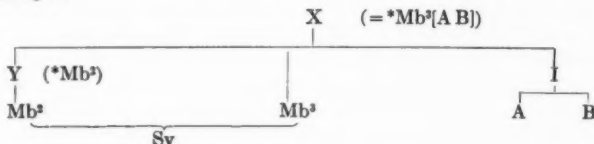
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*Die Überlieferung und Entstehung der "Thidrekssaga."* Von DIETRICH VON KRALIK. ("Rheinische Beiträge und Hilfsbücher zur germanischen Philologie und Volkskunde," Band XIX.) Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1931. Pp. 93.

The origin of the *Thidrekssaga* and the problem of the relationship of its several versions have received the careful attention of scholars for almost seventy years; but, in spite of efforts, little real agreement has been attained. The analysis of von Kralik presents the simplest and in many ways the most convincing results since the textual criticism of Klockhoff turned investigation up a blind alley. The problem is a complicated one. We have to do with one vellum manuscript (Mb) written by five scribes of which two (Mb<sup>2</sup> and Mb<sup>3</sup>) are accorded the rank of editors. Duplication of stories (principally the *Vilcinsaga*) in Mb<sup>2</sup> and Mb<sup>3</sup> opens the question of the relative reliability of the two editors. We have further two Icelandic manuscripts of importance (A and B) and one Swedish translation (Sv), which eliminate the duplications and reorganize the material.

Von Kralik accepts the recent conclusion of Hempel that Sv is based directly upon Mb. In doing this he reverts to the stand of Gustav Storm and rejects the findings of Klockhoff. This simplifies the problem greatly. He attempts next to reconstruct a general picture of the original version (X) and a history of its composition that will account for the form of the versions preserved. Though the whole process is purely subjective, he reaches general conclusions that are reasonable and do not conflict with the data known. Von Kralik assumes that X represents a first draft undertaken with a fairly definite plan; this plan is, however, greatly modified as added material comes to hand. Prevented by death, or in some other way, the author never produces this revision. Others, possibly members of the same monastery, undertake the task. The first editor sets out to crystallize and concentrate the exposition and to introduce logical order. This work is represented by Mb<sup>2</sup>. The editor, unable to go on with the work, is relieved by Mb<sup>3</sup>, a timid workman much more bound by his original. In his part of the saga the confusion and contradictions of X are not cleared up. Another reviser (I), the antecedent of A and B, completes an independent revision, eliminating duplications and reorganizing the material but clinging much closer to the original wording than did Mb<sup>2</sup>. Von Kralik's results are clearly set forth in his family tree of the manuscripts:



The most significant fact about this theory of relationship is that, if it is correct, any of the manuscripts now preserved may have retained readings of the original.

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*Antonio Pucci: "Le Noie."* Edited with an introduction by KENNETH MCKENZIE. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires, 1931. Pp. clxii+101.

Professor McKenzie has now edited Pucci's *Noie* three times: in 1912 *secondo la lezione del codice di Wellesley già Kirkupiano* (*Miscellanea Torraca* [Napoli], pp. 179-90); in 1913 *The Oxford text . . .* (*Kittredge anniversary papers* [Boston and London], pp. 175-83); and this time in a critical edition based on the Kirkup manuscript with collation of all the others.

The poem is extant in a score of manuscripts, and in five editions (one an incunabulum) apart from the three already mentioned. The present volume, besides offering for the first time a full collation of all the manuscripts (the earlier printings having been made essentially from single manuscripts), contains an elaborate introduction, which includes a study of Pucci's life and writings, an analysis of the *Noie* and its relation to other works, a description and classification of the manuscripts and editions, and discussions of the word *noia* and of the *Noie* as a literary form. The critical text itself is followed by various notes under the general heading of "Additions to the text," by a glossary, by two appendixes, and by a bibliography.

In the editor's own words:

The primary purpose is to give here a critical text of the *Noie*, based on all the manuscripts and editions, together with the necessary apparatus and illustrative material; and this purpose has been constantly kept in mind, even though the investigation may seem at times to wander far afield and, in relation to the comparatively short text itself, to be unduly extended.

Needless to say, the purpose has been admirably achieved; and if we are here and there given incidental information which, though interesting, is not absolutely essential to the main discussion, we are only the more indebted to the editor.

The introductory account of Pucci's life and writings is essentially "a summary of all the knowledge at present available in this connection." It is a very welcome and most useful compilation, as valuable a contribution to the comprehensive *Life* of Pucci which one hopes will soon be under way in Italy (if Ghino Lazzeri has not long since begun it) as the critical text of the *Noie* will be to the eventual editor of Pucci's works complete. As to whether or no Pucci sang his compositions in the public streets and squares, Professor McKenzie, following a suggestion of D'Ancona's, is inclined to believe that

"a respectable Florentine citizen might sing songs of his own composition publicly in Piazza S. Martino or elsewhere; particularly a man in Pucci's position . . ." (p. xlix). The reviewer rather agrees with Ezio Levi that this is unlikely; until some real evidence is adduced, however, the question must remain a matter of pure conjecture.

The history of the *Noie* as a literary form, which follows, is in the main confined to its development from the Provençal *Enueg* to the time of Pucci, with incidental reference to one or two fifteenth- and sixteenth-century parallels and a couple of pages on certain analogues from more recent times: Dodgson's *Sea dirge*; three lines from the 1926 "Blues" anthology; certain newspaper series of "pet peeves"; and a 1930 *Psychological* [God save the mark!] *study of every-day aversions and irritations*. Rather curiously, among the various analogues entertained, it is nowhere suggested that the *Noie* form is strikingly close to certain popular or proverbial "litanies"; for it makes comparatively little difference whether an enumeration of things disliked or feared is accompanied by a recurrent vernacular form of *Libera nos Domine* or of *Mihi in odio est*. In this section a rather more definite distinction might possibly have been drawn between the "real" *Enueg* or *Noie*, which consists simply of a list of unpleasant qualities, actions, or situations, with a phrase repeated at intervals to express a dislike of them, and poems on the other hand which (like Berni's *Cancheri e beccafichi*....) pile up a series of disagreeable things for the sole and single purpose of emphasizing the supreme unpleasantness of a single specific thing, which is regularly mentioned last—just as Berni's sonnet, for example, ends with the well-known lines:

.... Chi più n'ha, più ne metta,  
E conti tutti i dispetti e le doglie;  
Chè la maggior di tutti e l'aver moglie.

It may very well be that this type developed from the simple list of unpleasantnesses of which Pucci's *Noie* is an example; but its scope and intention are obviously very different. It would be interesting to trace, as far as possible, the relationship between the two types.<sup>1</sup>

The long and detailed discussion of the derivation of the word *noia* (pp. cv-cxxiii) culminates in the statement "In short, it may be asserted with confidence that *NOIA* is the Prov. *enoi* changed to the feminine form by analogy of *gioia* and other words, and for the sake of the rhyme with them." This is very probably the true explanation.

As far as the text and *apparatus criticus* are concerned, it is safe to assume that every care has been taken to secure accuracy. Certain minor differences in the text of the Kirkup manuscript given here as compared with the editor's previous publication of it in the *Miscellanea Torraca* represent corrections in

<sup>1</sup> In connection with this part of the volume it may be noted that reference should be made in n. 1 on pp. lvi-lvii to the important (but by no means exhaustive) article by Erhard Lommatzsch, "Benedetto sia 'l giorno e 'l mese e l'anno....," *ZRP*, XLIII (1923), 675-90.

this edition of misprints or errors of transcription in the earlier. In contrast to the latter, the present text is not a "diplomatic" printing, but—far more usefully—"in accordance with modern usage words are separated,<sup>2</sup> abbreviations solved, punctuation and accents added." Otherwise the orthography of the basic text is scrupulously followed. The volume as a whole contains an unfortunate number of misprints, etc. (mainly due, of course, to the exigencies of printing in Paris), but the text of the poem itself has none apparent, save for the wholly insignificant omission of the accent on *benchè* (vs. 8).<sup>3</sup>

Of the appendixes, the first, on "Pucci's sonnet on the portrait of Dante by Giotto," discusses fully the arguments (now, in the light of Pucci's sonnet, almost universally accepted) for the authenticity of the portrait, with a brief digression summing up the life and works of Richard Henry Wilde. The second appendix is of far more interest *agli studiosi* (who will find little in the other that is not already known to them); it is on *Il Manganello*, a neglected late quattrocento misogynic invective in *terza rima*, divided into thirteen *capitoli*, one of which closely follows the form of Pucci's *Noie*. Various problems arise in connection with this poem and its author, of whom we know exceedingly little. The only details about him are derived from three or four lines printed "from a manuscript" by Melzi in his *Dizionario di opere anonime*.... and repeated by Brunet. He is usually known as *Il Manganello*, but Professor McKenzie believes this to be "the title of the poem, not the name or nickname of the author." Since the only references to *Il Manganello* that have of late been cited are almost all of the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Cornazzano's *Riprensione* apparently says nothing to clarify the matter, though the passage I am about to cite may possibly derive from some unrecorded lines in it; and Melzi assigns no date to his "manuscript note," which might, for all he says, be of the eighteenth century), it will perhaps be well to cite here three mentions of the name which the reviewer, in an earlier pursuit of the elusive *Manganello*, had noted in three writers of the first half of the Cinquecento. All three of them, as will appear, regard *Il Manganello* as an individual.

In the first place, the writer of Melzi's "MS note" evidently copied it, probably quite late, from Lodovico Dolce's *Paraphrasi nella sesta satira di Giuvenale*.... *Dialogo in cui si parla di che qualita si dee tor moglie*.... (Venice, 1538), folio L<sub>4</sub> verso. The passage there runs:

Questo manganello fù melanese, e perche meno discretamente amò una giovane in Ferrara, ne rilevò ferite, e un'altra volta tre tratti di corda, il che riconoscendo havere per commissione de la Duchessa, scrisse contra lei quel suo libro, il quale fù poi sbandito de la santa madre Ghiesaa. ...

<sup>2</sup> Should not "None schusando me..." (vs. 10, so printed both in the text and on p. lxxxvii) rather be divided "Non oschusando me..."?

<sup>3</sup> In vs. 316 the editor probably preferred to keep the *siu*, thought *s'iu* might possibly have been clearer.

Again, in the *Cicalamenti del Grappa intorno al sonetto "Poi che mia speme è lunga à venir troppo...."* (Mantua, 1545) there is a passing reference on page 9 which clearly regards Il Manganello as a man, even jocosely referring to him as "Father": "Vedeti che, dove l'huomo solamente due, voi (per testimonio de 'l P. Manganello) sette testicoli vi ritruovate."<sup>4</sup>

The third case is in a sonnet by Nicolò Franco, written evidently in 1547 on the death of Pietro Bembo. It is addressed to the dead poet in the other world: *Eccoti co 'l Petrarca a tutte l'ore....* Franco would beg Bembo to greet in his name both Petrarch and Boccaccio; but it would be folly to ask that. Enough if Bembo will, in passing, convey greetings to "il Berna," to "il Pistoia," to "il Manganello," and to others of Franco's own type.

.... Basterà salutarmi a qualche via  
Il Berna e il Pistoia e 'l Manganello  
E tutti quei dell'accademia mia.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, although the *explicit* to the Colombina manuscript ("Explicit Manganus Dni Francisci Mediolanensis") is definitely in favor of Professor McKenzie's theory that Il Manganello is nothing more than the title of the poem, all the early references that have so far come to light clearly consider Il Manganello to be "the name or nickname of the author."

An overcautious critic might perhaps, in conclusion, take exception to a few very minor points,<sup>6</sup> but he could certainly find nothing that would in any

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Manganello*, XI, 7.

<sup>5</sup> This sonnet is included in the volume *Rime di Nicolò Franco contra Pietro Aretino* (Lanciano: Carabba, s.a.), p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. lxxxviii-ix and 49: Pucci's use of the very common word *brigata* ('company of friends') is perfectly regular. The word is obviously not a proper name in any of the passages cited; so that the doubt several times implied (e.g., p. lxxxix: "'Brigata,' whether the name of a person or not....") seems out of place.

P. 14: To the variants for vs. 189 there should be added "*Poesie di A.P. ella si mena, e serve*"; or else (since the variants from this printed text are not regularly included in the *apparatus*) the *Poesie....* variant for vs. 188 should be suppressed. It is somewhat misleading to give half a variant phrase without any indication that the second half also is abnormal.

Pp. 34-35: The argument here seems to underestimate the possibility of an Italian sonnet ending in what looks to the Anglo-Saxon like a rhyming couplet. Scores of early sonnets whose final tercet is *CEE* or *DEE* have been cited, and most of the early writers on metrics admit the possibility (cf. *MLN*, XXXIX, 477-78). It is true, however, that such endings are decidedly uncommon, and in the case of the specific sonnet here under consideration the theory set forth on pp. 37-38 is unquestionably correct.

P. 39: Under the variants from *Magl.*, VII, 1145, the whole of vs. 7 might be cited, "Cortese sia, largo e intendente." The difference, though trivial, is not strictly confined to the order and the last word.

The inclusion in the glossary of *arme*, *briga*, *gagliardo*, *meschere*, *schersare*, *schiena*, *toraglia*, and some other familiar words seems unnecessary for any who know enough Italian to read the volume at all intelligently, and is of no assistance in any of the problems of interpretation. However, glossarily speaking, excess is certainly preferable to stinting.

P. 65: Footnote 1 is a little unjust to Edmund Gardner in counting him among those who refuse to accept the Bargello portrait as genuine, and in quoting to this end from "*The Story of Florence*, London, Dent, 1900 (an excellent book in some respects, although



significant way detract from the very real value of this thoroughly interesting and eminently scholarly volume.

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*Francesco Petrarca: Le familiari*, Vol. I: *Introduzione e Libri I-IV*.

Edizione critica per cura di VITTORIO ROSSI. ("Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca," Vol. X.) Florence: Sansoni, 1933. Pp. clxxii+208.

In *Modern philology* for August, 1927 (XXV, 113-16), I reviewed the first volume of the "Edizione nazionale" of the works of Petrarch—the *Africa*, edited by Nicola Festa—and in that review I reported the general plan of the nineteen volumes of which the complete edition is to consist.

The present volume, the second in order of publication, bears the volume number X, in accordance with the plan just referred to. It is the first of the six volumes assigned to the prose letters, and the first of the three in which the *Familiarum rerum libri* are to be contained. Professor Rossi is the editor of all six volumes of the prose letters.

The importance of the letters of Petrarch, both as documents in the history of culture and as sources for his own biography and for the interpretation of his other works, needs no emphasis. For seventy-five years Italian scholars have been deeply grateful to Fracassetti for his first complete editions of the main Petrarchan collections—and for seventy-five years they have suffered from the inadequacies of those editions. That Rossi's work is now coming to the stage of publication is a matter for still deeper gratitude—and his work is definitive. His six volumes will represent the result of thirty years' work in this special field by one whose monographs have long since won him place in the first rank of Romance scholars.

His task is vast in extent, and highly complicated. The *Familiarum rerum libri* contain, in Rossi's numeration (which at a few points corrects that of Fracassetti), 350 letters, divided into 24 books. Many of these letters exist in more than one form: much of Rossi's published work, in recent years, has dealt with the discovery and the discrimination of the various forms.

it never mentions Pucci). . . . " *The Story of Florence*, even in its first edition here cited' deserved better of Professor McKenzie than this damning with faint praise which classes it with the legendary curate's egg. And Gardner has long since corrected in subsequent editions the slip which placed him thirty-odd years ago among the skeptics; in the edition of 1928, e.g., we read (p. 222): "This, though at one time disputed, is now generally accepted especially as the 14th. century poet, Antonio Pucci, has a sonnet describing a portrait of Dante by Giotto which corresponds precisely to the one before us." Nor is this the only mention of Pucci in the (revised) volume.

These and a few other such matters are obviously of very little moment. The only slip which one regrets is the incidental injustice to Professor Gardner; but that, after all, comes in a very minor footnote, and its correction only serves to increase the weight of authority on Professor McKenzie's side in a discussion which was already won by logic.



Every letter had, in the first place, a preliminary draft, or drafts. Only one letter still exists in draft form: XVI, 6, which appears, in Petrarch's own hand, in the Vatican MS V.L. 3196.

Every letter had, in the second place, its transmissive form—that is, the form in which it was actually sent to the addressee. Petrarch always kept a copy of this form. In many cases copies of individual letters or groups of letters in the transmissive form gained MS currency in one way or another. Rossi (pp. ciii–cix) lists 81 letters as existing in this form, in about as many different MSS. One letter (XIX, 5) is still extant, in this form, in Petrarch's own hand. Rossi uses the letter  $\gamma$  to designate the text of this transmissive form. (He might well have used the letter  $\delta$  to differentiate the text of the draft form, surviving in a single letter, as indicated in the preceding paragraph.)

The idea of gathering his letters into a collection first came to Petrarch in Italy in 1349. The first conception of the idea was followed by the careful writing of a dedicatory letter and the revision of one or more of the early letters. This stage of the text, preserved unmistakably in only two letters (I, 1 and I, 2, in Rossi's numbering) as contained in a single MS, is designated by Rossi as  $\beta^1$ .

Not till 1351, when Petrarch had returned to Vauchuse, did he really make headway with the collection. About 1356 there got into circulation, with or without Petrarch's authorization, a copy (not quite complete) of the first eight books. Rossi (pp. xli–xlv) lists four MSS (and one lost MS) as reflecting this copy, and designates this stage of the text as  $\beta$ .

Meanwhile, the work went on. There chances still to exist a MS which represents the first forms of Books XX–XXII as part of a collection (Rossi, pp. xlvi–xlvii). Rossi does not use a separate designation for the text of this MS: he might well have called it  $\alpha^1$ .

The work was finished in 1366. Its completion had involved retouching throughout, so that the final text of the early books and of Books XX–XXII differs somewhat from the textual stages designated above as  $\beta$  and  $\alpha^1$ . Rossi designates the final text as  $\alpha$ , and lists (pp. xvii–xli) 29 MSS as containing it.

The text of Rossi's edition is of course the  $\alpha$  text. Fortunately, the MSS of that text show relatively little significant variation, though Rossi discerns and follows two particular groups, containing together nine MSS, as having the best text for Books I–XI, and another group, containing six MSS, as having the best text for Books XII–XXIV. Within these groups the variations are insignificant. Similarly, the differences between the MSS which preserve the text in the stage  $\beta$  are seldom significant, and the differences between the MSS which preserve individual letters in the stage  $\gamma$  are in most cases not significant.

Having established his  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\beta^1$ , and  $\gamma$  texts with extreme care, Rossi limits his *apparatus criticus*, for the most part, to variants of the  $\beta$ ,  $\beta^1$  and  $\gamma$  texts as

such. (If the  $\gamma$  variants for a given letter are very extensive, they are not given in the *apparatus criticus*, but the entire letter in the  $\gamma$  form is printed in an appendix to the book in question.) He of course enters the variants of specific MSS or groups of MSS when he thinks them really significant, but he has the courage to neglect that which is really negligible. The alternative would have been the spending of more than a lifetime in the gathering of insignificant variants, and the cluttering of an immense amount of paper with those same variants. Thanks to his wise choice, Rossi gains a fine clear page of text. Thanks to excellent editorial judgment in matters of detail, the page is made not only clear, but very inviting. It would have delighted Petrarch.

Rossi's system of signs for the many MSS concerned, while devised in accordance with a familiar method, seems to me confusing in detail. It is different in kind, also, from the system used by Festa for the *Africa*. Festa's *sigle* are single letters, having usually no relation to the location of the MS concerned; Rossi's are usually combinations of letters, such as Dom. or Vaut. or Wr., which are intended to give some suggestion as to the location of the MS. It chanced that both editors have occasion to list MS V.E. 35 of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples: Festa calls it *a*, Rossi calls it N. Festa, as it chanced, used N to designate MS V.E. 39 of the same library. Rossi's system results, moreover, in the interruption of the notation sequence for MSS of the same library. For instance, L., La., Laut., Ln., Lr., Lrz, and Lz. designate Laurentian MSS, but Lio. and Lp. do not; and M., Mc., and Mr. designate Marcian MSS, but Mb., Me., Mn. and Mo. do not. Would it not be possible for a single scientific system of *sigle* to be worked out which could be used by all who deal with Petrarchan MSS, so that the same *sigle* could always be used for the same MS?

Indexes would have added to the convenience of the volume. The last volume of the edition, to be sure, is to contain a general index; but the present volume should have contained at least two special indexes. One greatly needs, in the first place, an index of the many MSS referred to. The folded table at the back of the volume does enable one to interpret the *sigle*, but it does not enable one to refer to the pages of the introduction where the several MSS are described or referred to. Some 75 MSS are there described, in about as many pages, under 13 different headings; the arrangement of MSS under each heading is not alphabetical. Several MSS, moreover, are referred to in more than one place in the introduction. Rossi is so thoroughly familiar with them all that he feels no need of index-guidance, but the reader is at a serious disadvantage. Some scholars, certainly, would have been glad to see included in such an index even the miscellaneous MSS referred to on pages xci-xcii and civ-cix.

The other index certainly desirable for this particular volume would be an ordinary table of contents for the letters printed in this volume—the entry being, in each case, the superscription exactly as given in the text. Doubtless such an index, covering the three volumes of the *Familiari*, is planned for

Volume XII: it would have been a great convenience to have it also, individually, for this volume.

The several former students of the Romance Department of the University of Chicago who collaborated in the preparation of the two Chicago manuals on the dates of the letters of Petrarch will be glad to note Rossi's reference to those two *volumetti*.

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*A dramatic adaptation of Rabelais in the seventeenth century: "Les aventures et le mariage de Panurge" (1674), by Pousset de Montauban, with a study of his life and other plays.* By MARION F. CHEVALIER. ("Johns Hopkins Studies in romance literatures and languages," extra Vol. VI.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. 196.

Miss Chevalier has combined a *mise au point* of scholarly information concerning Jacques Pousset de Montauban with the presentation of an important *inédit*: a play of his, the MS of which she found at the Bibliothèque d'Orléans. Her thorough bibliographic and biographic account of Montauban, himself not only a playwright but a distinguished lawyer, is judiciously supplemented by analyses and criticisms of his plays hitherto known.

Miss Chevalier publishes the text of the play, with a preliminary analysis and with careful footnotes, of which the great majority are devoted to indicating what uses Montauban has made of his chief source. While the plot is essentially the playwright's own, he presents a stageful of characters familiar from Rabelais's pages, and vividly sketched from the model. The play is an amusing and effective work in its own right, as well as a document of importance in the history of Rabelais's influence; Miss Chevalier has done good service to students both of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth century.

Of the immense number of borrowings from Rabelais in the play, it is natural enough that the editor in her task of identification should have missed an occasional one; thus the supposed testator in II, iii, is Blaise Tempeste, who is in fact named in the *Quart livre*, chapter xxi, as a "grand fouetteur d'escoliers au college de Montagu," and is there also pilloried in the characteristically scholastic line, "Horrida tempestas montem turbavit acutum." Furthermore, Panurge's efforts to secure husbands for loathsome crones (*Pantagruel*, II, xvii, with an origin in Herodotus A 196) appears here in III, iv. Of misprints, that in the note on page 86 is serious, for the line from Vergil runs "Occursare capro (cornu ferit ille) caveto"; others appear on page 75, note on line 433—read "coquz" and "hante"; page 99, note 11—read "*faciendi*"; line 1838—read "et le juge"; line 1972—read "battais."

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*Philosophical poems of Henry More, comprising Psychozoia and minor poems.* Edited, with an introduction and notes, by GEOFFREY BULLOUGH. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931. Pp. xc+250.

Mr. Bullough merits a warm welcome from the group of scholars who understand the significance of Henry More in the history of seventeenth-century thought and have been laboring to make his importance clear. The more general student of the period owes him a debt of gratitude for making more readily available poems that do much to illuminate the ideas and history of that intellectually lively time. Previously, the poems here reprinted were to be read only as More published them—some in 1642, others in 1647, and still others in 1668 and 1679—and in the far-from-satisfactory edition by Grosart in the "Chertsey worthies' library" (1876 and 1878). Copies of these works are not always easily obtained; and Mr. Bullough's usually careful list of variant readings makes available the text of all the editions in their really significant details.

Throughout the work he preserves a proper appreciation of More's merits as a poet; he does not try to revive him as one of the great or near-great. To him *Psychozoia* is a poem "perilously near the dead end" of the alley of Spenserian allegory, but one showing "frequent flashes of excellence in description, satire, and dialogue." Quite properly he justifies his edition chiefly by reference, not to More's worth as a poet, but rather to the importance of his ideas.

For the student of the period he is a poet of considerable historical significance. The passion for systematisation which mars him as an artist, renders *Psychozoia* an invaluable handbook to the ideas implicit in the work of his greater predecessors and contemporaries.

It might well be added that More often has points of interest for the student of the history of our language.

The introduction of about one hundred pages, in which are summarized "those elements which may help in the interpretation of *Psychozoia*," is excellent. It reviews those events of More's life which are significant in connection with his poetry, and surveys the influences which led him to think and to write as he did. Judicious attention is paid to his home, where he learned to love the *Faerie Queene*; to Eton, where his dissatisfaction with Calvinism became marked; to Cambridge, where such men as Robert Gell, Joseph Mede, and Benjamin Whichcote set their mark upon his mind; and to his reading, which included not only Plato, Plotinus, Ficino, Philo, and Clement, but also the *Theologia Germanica*, the Jewish Cabbala, and Hermes Trismegistus. In addition, the editor has summarized and commented upon the narrative and ideas of the three cantos of *Psychozoia* so as to aid the reader in interpreting them, and has told of More's defense of his poetry against the

attacks of Thomas Vaughan and his other critics. In all, it is a generous, discriminating, and satisfying introduction.

Few parts of the work, however, are without their flaws of detail. For example, in his "Short bibliography," F. I. Carpenter's *Subject index to Spenser's poems*, and C. G. Osgood's *Spenser concordance*—works which every person at all acquainted with Spenserian scholarship surely knows and which one who is interested in the literary relations of More and Spenser would naturally consult early in his investigation—might well be omitted to leave room for the inclusion of other items quite as pertinent and perhaps not so generally known. All mention of the work of Professor Marjorie H. Nicolson is omitted with the exception of a reference to her article, "The spirit world of Milton and More." And at that, he misspells her name and refers his reader to *Studies in philosophy* instead of *Studies in philology*. Such errors, not improbably due to the careless reading of proof, lead one to wonder whether or not the editor's accuracy is impeccable elsewhere. It is not.

The text he presents is often incorrect. For example, the first twenty-five stanzas of *Psychozoia* contain the following errors: *four* for *foul* (I, xi, 9), *Autolacon* for *Autocalon* (I, xiv, 9), and *solf* for *soft* (I, xxiii, 2). The text of "Cupid's conflict" is no better; there we find these misprints: *Why* for *why* (l. 1), *My feeble that* for *My feeble feet that* (l. 17), *wandering* for *wandring* (l. 20), *novelitie* for *noveltie* (l. 65), *the impartiall* for *th'impartiall* (l. 150), *my* for *thy* (l. 157), *Approaching* for *Approching* (l. 222), *not* for *nought* (l. 250), *survive.* for *survive!* (l. 306), *touched* for *touchd* (l. 318), *wordly* for *worldly* (l. 349), *life* for *Life* (l. 379), *boys* for *boyes* (l. 413), *doth eyde* for *hath eyde* (l. 424), *three-branch'd* for *three branch'd* (l. 465), and *thou're* for *thou'rt* (l. 469).

Nor are the notes all that might be desired. They are usually illuminating and distinctly to the point; but they are sometimes not so full as might be wished, and occasionally they are mistaken. When More speaks (*Psychozoia*, I, ii, 9) of revealing "some fair glimpse of Plato's hid Philosophy," Mr. Bulough does not tell us that Plato was supposed to have been the master of an esoteric doctrine, which was revealed only to a chosen few of his pupils and which the later Platonists claimed to have received by oral tradition. Had he done so, it would have made clear to the reader why More promises to found his work upon Plato and then confines his attention so largely as he does to such later writers as Plotinus. Again, More's phrase "eyelids of the Morn" (*ibid.*, xxiv, 1) is referred only to the similar phrase in *Psychathanasia*; the editor does not note that Milton has the same phrase in *Lycidas* and that its origin is to be found in the Hebrew of Job 3:9. Another case in point is the phrase "they that dwell / In Tharsis Tritons fry" (I, xxxvi, 5 f.). Although More's meaning is clearly "those that dwell in the waters of the earth," the reader's attention is directed to the biblical Tharshish. A quotation from Cornelius Agrippa's *Of occult philosophy* (p. 416 of J. Freake's translation), with which More was familiar, would supply the necessary information:

"There are also assigned to the elements these [angelic governors], viz., to the air, Cherub; to the water, Tharsis; to the earth, Ariel; to the fire, Seruph, or, according to Philon, Nathaniel."

Further, one might wish that Mr. Bullough could have found space in his notes for all the elaborate commentary More supplied in his own editions of the poems. Instead he chooses what of it he considers pertinent, sometimes omitting what is both interesting and illuminating.

That the work might be better is to be regretted; that the editor has performed a service that not many wished to attempt is certain. Despite the infelicities and inaccuracies, one is left with a prevailing sense of the goodness of the whole.

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*Gustave Flaubert, l'homme et l'œuvre (avec des documents inédits).* Par RENÉ DUMESNIL. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer & Cie, 1932. Pp. 530.

Among the multiple literary and musical contributions of M. René Dumesnil, the best known are his many articles and six books devoted to Gustave Flaubert. In 1905, his medical thesis, whose title is significant (*Flaubert, son hérédité, son milieu, sa méthode*), officially introduced Flaubert to the University of Paris, and was the brilliant precursor of a series of medico-literary dissertations representing excellently the typically French tradition of *rapprochement* of life, science, and art. This and subsequent works established M. Dumesnil as one of the two principal Flaubertians, and since the death of his friend René Descharmes as the leading authority on Flaubert.

His very considerable recent book, which avows and corrects what he considers his past errors, is a clear, generally solid, unpedantic, and interesting synthesis of the results of Flaubertian research up to the end of 1932, including his own fruitful past studies and those of others, to whose contributions he gives full credit. While determined, as was Flaubert, to observe the spirit of scientific objectivity, he frankly states that he has written in an attitude of justified admiration for his author. The general method is logical and satisfactory. M. Dumesnil naturally starts with Flaubert the man, his heredity, environment, private and literary life, and ideas, bringing back to their proper proportions such mooted questions as the great novelist's medical knowledge and his illness, and their aesthetic consequences, examining his friendships and *vie sentimentale*, which latter discussion leads him logically to use abundantly the two interesting and helpful little books of M. Gérard-Gailly on *L'unique passion de Flaubert*. This first part, very detailed and painstakingly supported by *pièces justificatives*, is organized by subject matter, though chronological order is observed whenever possible. This section occupies 298 of the 489 pages comprising the main text. Adding to them the 78 excellent pages of chapter vii on the important and typically Flaubertian



transmutations of life into art, which belong analytically with it, and, in the appendix, an authoritative *mise au point* of the nature of Flaubert's illness and fatal stroke, it is evident, as he states clearly in his *avant-propos*, that M. Dumesnil, physician by training, former disciple of Taine, and, as was Flaubert, enlightened determinist, believes with Anatole France that "il n'y a à tout prendre, que des œuvres de circonstance, car toutes dépendent du lieu et du moment où elles furent créées. On ne peut les comprendre ni les aimer d'un amour intelligent si l'on ne connaît le lieu, le temps et les circonstances de leur origine." And M. Dumesnil adds: "Faire connaître l'origine des œuvres de Flaubert, et, pour cela, Flaubert lui-même, c'est exactement le but de ce livre" (p. 13). And this goal is exactly attained, M. Dumesnil considering his principal rôle to be that not of literary critic but of literary historian.

After this first, biographical part, the materials of which are orientated in the direction of the second, M. Dumesnil examines the works themselves, their organic unity under their wide diversity, the principles they embody, Flaubert's assimilation and artistic utilization of documents, experiences, and sources, including prominently his own different selves and their potentialities, the composition of each of the works with the influences which bore upon its choice and development, Flaubert's style and its supreme organic importance. And he wisely concludes with the import of Flaubert's works, his rare aesthetic mysticism, and his important rôle in the evolution of the French novel. He renders real service, not only by the clairvoyant development of these different points, but also by insisting, proofs in hand and in opposition to many critics, on (for instance) Flaubert's humanness (p. 139 and chap. iv); on the psychological and symbolic as well as descriptive richness of his works; on the admirable oneness of style and content, and the necessity of studying each work as a whole and not as a series of paragraphs, since Flaubert's technique is both methodical and organic; on the importance of Flaubert's memory, his cult of the past and vivification of it through observation (pp. 141, 319, 355, 360, 368, 389, 391, 421); on his value as a social historian; and on the perhaps supreme worth of his less popular works as well as of the *Correspondance*.

If, in harmony with his declared purpose and with his own major research wherein his authority is pre-eminent, M. Dumesnil gives relatively little attention to Flaubert's novelistic and stylistic technique, that is doubtless due to the necessity of choice and to the existence of such excellent studies as those of MM. Maynial, Albalat, and Thibaudet, whose various contributions he recapitulates. And throughout the book he makes clear what are the sources and aesthetic implications of character-creation and style. Undue place may have been given at times to descriptive and biographical detail (for instance pp. 53, 113 ff., 361 ff.), but the significance of seemingly insignificant things is brought out (for instance, the table-cover, p. 114, or the quill-pens, p. 116).

The biographical and aesthetic significance of young Flaubert's creation *le Garçon*, and especially of a number of the *œuvres de jeunesse* including the



early travel-notes, is neglected, nor does one find a unified study of the very important literary influences which Flaubert underwent. Such important studies as those of MM. Ferrère and Seillière, and of Professors Coleman and Shanks, and in general research not printed in French, find inadequate utilization. For reasons impossible to develop here this reviewer would take exception to several statements in the pages devoted to *Boward et Pécuchet* (especially regarding an evolution in Flaubert's attitude toward his heroes, and the content and organization of their "copy"). The desire to attain unpedantic rapidity frequently causes omission of page references for the many quotations. There are occasional obscurities of attribution or errors in quotation (see p. 315, text and footnote; quotation, p. 459), or seeming inconsistencies in groupings (pp. 337-39). Identifications seem sometimes too absolute (Emilie Renaud, pp. 142, 344; *personnages jumeaux*, p. 341). Quibbles over details might be multiplied. But the fundamental solidity of this excellent work would remain intact.

It contains seven interesting *hors-texte*, an index to names, and a *table des matières* including chapter-résumés. Useful footnotes abound, and the appendix provides an extremely valuable list of over 450 titles with frequent short notes as to content, this list bringing down Flaubertian bibliography to the eve of the book's printing, and, together with the 150 pages published by Descharmes and M. Dumesnil in the second volume of *Around Flaubert*, comprising one of the most useful and complete bibliographies of a given author in modern French literature. This new book is absolutely indispensable for all interested in Flaubert, and most valuable for anyone studying realism or the French novel since 1850.

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*L'Affaire Dreyfus et les écrivains français.* Par CÉCILE DELHORBE.  
Paris: Victor Attinger, 1932. Pp. viii+355.

Voici un gros ouvrage qui va désoler plusieurs travailleurs en Amérique qui s'occupaient de l'affaire Dreyfus dans la littérature française avec l'idée de publier les résultats de leurs recherches. Mme Delhorbe est arrivée première, et sans prétendre qu'il n'y ait plus rien à dire après elle, il est certain qu'elle a fait le gros de l'ouvrage. C'est un travail d'ailleurs très consciencieux, laissant seulement parfois—pour notre goût d'érudition moderne—percer un peu trop peut-être la femme, c'est-à-dire le besoin d'exprimer certaines antipathies. Il n'y a pas de doute que ce fut pour l'auteur un grand avantage d'avoir eu pour père Henri Jacottet, qui pendant l'affaire envoyait jour après jour de Paris des correspondances à la *Gazette de Lausanne* et puis au *Journal de Genève*.

Le chapitre I, "Introduction historique," est un exposé lumineux de l'affaire en 44 pages. On conçoit difficilement mieux.

Les chapitres suivants, qui prennent les différentes personnalités littéraires ayant joué un rôle prépondérant dans la discussion, sont tous intéressants, quoique—selon l'opinion de celui qui tient la plume—pas de valeur tout à fait égale.

Pour les trois premiers, l'auteur subdivise sa matière en *Avant*, *Pendant* et *Après* l'affaire.

Voici d'abord Zola. Il était certes intéressant de savoir ce qu'avait été l'écrivain avant l'affaire; mais on ne voit pas très clairement le rapport que l'auteur veut établir entre le Zola d'*avant* et le Zola *pendant*. Ou, en tous cas, on ne peut pas dire que Mme Delhorbe fasse voir le lecteur comme elle voit les choses elle-même. Nous voulons bien croire sur la parole de l'auteur que Zola ait été "médiocrement habile" dans sa conduite de l'affaire; nous aimerions voir mieux ce qu'il aurait dû faire pour être moins "médiocrement habile." L'auteur lui reproche d'avoir trop plané, et on pourrait bien suggérer que c'est précisément ce qui lui a donné sa force dans cette lutte gigantesque et épuisante. Elle parle de son "apocalyptisme," et que pour lui "le combat se simplifie de plus en plus, quoiqu'il ait besoin de plus en plus de majuscules pour le décrire. C'est la Lutte entre le Bien et le Mal, la Vérité et l'Erreur" (p. 63). Elle lui reproche un "manque absolu de sens historique et critique" (p. 65). Bref, si "d'une sincérité évidente," la campagne de Zola est "purement romantique" (p. 66). Diogène réfuta Zénon qui niait le mouvement en se mettant à marcher. Ne pourrait-on répondre à Mme Delhorbe: Tout de même, c'est la lettre *J'accuse* qui a emporté le morceau.

A. France est jugé bien sévèrement aussi. Evidemment, Mme Delhorbe est agacée par son éclectisme; elle compte trois, quatre, cinq France successeurs; elle explique France tout entier par le désir de fuir toute tutelle, toute opinion de la foule: du moment que la majorité est contre Dreyfus, ce sera la raison pour se faire dreyfusiste. C'est un peu trop simple. Et cela empêche Mme Delhorbe de goûter les pages fameuses sur le mensonge qui éblouissaient Clémenceau (p. 109), le mot dans *Crainquebille*: "La justice est la sanction des injustices établies" (p. 140); sans parler des Trublions qui l'irritent visiblement.

Barrès paraît mieux saisi. Voici ses propres mots (cités p. 166): le nationalisme, c'est l'ambition de "juger de tout, même d'une vérité abstraite et métaphysique par le rapport à l'intérêt français"; et pour le démêler, cet intérêt, "il faut s'asseoir au point d'où toutes choses se disposent à la mesure d'un Français ... et ayant atteint ce point s'y tenir." Barrès, c'est l'anti-intellectuel par intellectualisme. Du reste, "il n'y a pas d'idées personnelles; les idées même les plus rares, les jugements même les plus abstraits ... sont des façons de sentir générales et se retrouvent chez tous les êtres de même organisme" (cité p. 172). Quand le dreyfusisme finit par triompher, "il [Barrès] est moins convaincu de l'innocence de Dreyfus que de la culpabilité générale" (p. 179).

Encore plus paradoxale paraît la doctrine de Maurras, et elle n'est pas moins fortement exposée: lui aussi combat la "vérité officielle ... vulgarisée

dans les manuels d'histoire à l'usage des classes primaires: *La France, Christ des nations*. Cette France généreuse, semeuse d'idées, champion du droit, plaçant l'Idéal au-dessus de ses intérêts, n'envisageant même pas ses intérêts puisque pour elle l'idéal seul comptait, cette France-là, non seulement ce n'était pas la France de M. Maurras, mais il affirmait que ce n'était pas la France historique" (p. 195). "Nous avons en horreur l'idéalisme, a-t-il écrit, qui n'est un mal français que depuis que la France cesse d'être elle-même" (depuis la Révolution). Il faut "comme Dante, cinq siècles avant Goethe, préférer une injustice au désordre": telle est l'attitude de Maurras dans l'affaire Dreyfus (p. 205).

Péguy, plus que tout autre sollicite la sympathie de l'auteur; il est l'homme qui renie le socialisme pour se jeter dans la "mystique républicaine", cette mystique qui s'affranchit de toute politique à la Jaurès (p. 171), et qui répugne même fortement à toute justification rationnelle à la Halévy (p. 287), cette mystique qui aboutit au retour au catholicisme ... à condition que le catholicisme ne soit pas dogmatique.

C'est en lisant l'œuvre de Proust que l'auteur s'est rendu compte du rôle immense que l'affaire a joué au commencement du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elle donne en détail l'attitude de personnages de Proust, *con et pro*; et à vrai dire, cela fait une lecture assez monotone quoique ces longues pages ne soient pas hors de place en un ouvrage si consciencieux. Mme Delhorbe croit pouvoir affirmer que Proust lui-même était dreyfusiste.

Le dernier chapitre contient une analyse des romans de Beaunier, *Les Dupont-Leterrier*—vaudevillesque; de Martin du Gard, *Jean Barois*—le plus important ("C'est bien la religion de Zola et non celle de Péguy," p. 327); de Mirbeau, *Les vingt et un jours d'un neurasthénique*, et de J. B. Bloch, *Lévy* (qui dépeint les répercussions de l'affaire sur les petits boutiquiers juifs).

La conclusion est un peu mince—sans qu'on puisse dire qu'elle soit fausse: tant d'attitudes différentes font penser qu'il y a "avant tout dans les conflits des écrivains dreyfusiens, la grande, l'éternelle querelle des générations" (p. 352).

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## BRIEFER MENTION

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The varied contents which are familiar to us in the *Harvard Studies and notes* are found once more in the present volume (Vol. XV; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933; pp. 370). Here are essays on St. Edmund and Ragnar Lodbrok (Grant Loomis); Georgian secular literature (R. P. Blake); the *Pseudo-Turpin* (H. M. Smyser); proverbs in ten Middle English romances of French origin (B. J. Whiting); Burgkmaier's sketches for Emperor Maximilian (Arthur Burkhard); the German dialogue in *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* (Taylor Starck); the date and composition of *Alphonsus* (F. T. Bowers); the English atomists in the seventeenth century (C. T. Harrison); the death of Wycherley (H. P. Vincent); an eighteenth-century theatrical failure, *The modish couple*, which owed its ruin to politics (C. B. Woods); the technique of English epistolary novels (F. G. Black); and materials which enlarge our knowledge of C. N. Cochin, Charles Churchill, Pushkin, and Rachel Houssaye (P. H. Harris, L. H. Butterfield, E. J. Simmons, R. D. Hawkins). Certainly no one can express a critical judgment of any value on so many and so diverse subjects. I shall content myself with some incidental comment. Loomis compares ingeniously and instructively the traditions about Ragnar Lodbrok in English, Irish, and Scandinavian sources. Smyser throws light on the legend of the engulfed city in the *Pseudo-Turpin*. He might have consulted the extensive collections in F. Schmarsel, *Die Sage von der untergegangenen Stadt* ("Literarhistorische Forschungen" [Berlin, 1913], No. 53) and the more recent essay of Hans Ellekilde on the Borresø (*Gammalt & Nyt; et lided bor-rinholmst Årshæfte*, IV [1932], as cited in *Danske Folkemaal*, VII [1933], 62), which deals with a special type of the tale. Whiting brings new materials for the study of the Middle English proverb. Starck reviews the use of Dutch and German in Elizabethan drama and shows that the author had a surprisingly good knowledge of German. Vincent's account of Wycherley's death is another striking illustration of successful searches in English court records.—A.T.

Students of English social, intellectual, and religious history will find much to interest them in the latest issue (No. 5) of the *Huntington Library bulletin* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934; pp. 182). In addition to brief notes, the number contains (1) a "Summary report on the Hastings manuscripts," compiled by the staff of the Department of Manuscripts—an analytical description of a collection of some fifty thousand pieces acquired by the Library in 1926, valuable particularly for the seventeenth, eighteenth, and

nineteenth centuries; (2) an important study by Francis R. Johnson and Sanford V. Larkey on "Thomas Digges, the Copernican system, and the idea of the infinity of the universe in 1576," accompanied by a reprint of the portion of Digges' *Prognostication euerlasting* relating to Copernicus (from the rare copy of the 1576 edition in the Huntington Library); (3) an article on "Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Elianor Cobham his wife in the *Mirror for magistrates*" by Lily B. Campbell; and (4) a discussion by Godfrey Davies of "Arminian versus Puritan in England, ca. 1620-1640." Altogether a distinguished number.—R. S. C.

The study of the medieval European dialogue and epic materials which deal with Solomon has moved very slowly indeed, and yet every contribution has marked a notable advance in our knowledge. Fortunately little has been published which is likely to mislead or confuse the student. In 1808 F. H. von der Hagen and J. Büsching printed the German texts. Forty years later J. M. Kemble summarized the subject of medieval literary treatments of Solomon in his *Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus* ("Aelfric Society" [London, 1848]). As Henning Larsen showed some years ago (*Modern philology*, XXVI [1928-29], 447-50), Kemble used materials which he had been collecting over a long period of time and which he had already prepared for the printer. A few of the twenty sets of proof-sheets are still in existence; one happens to be in my possession. Kemble's encyclopedic knowledge and the abundance of texts which he reprints makes his book fundamental for further study. A flurry of interest in Germany accounts for the appearance in close succession of Schaumburg's study of the German poem in couplets (1876), Vogt's edition of the epic *Salman und Morolf* (1880), and Schaubach's dissertation on Georg Hayden's version (1881). All are excellent pieces of investigation. Perhaps their very excellence explains the lull in interest that followed. A new epoch begins with A. Ritter von Vincenti's admirable summary, *Die altenglischen Dialoge von Salomon und Saturn* (1904), which was intended to be the preface to a new edition of the Old English texts. Benary's edition (1914) of the Latin dialogue makes it possible to study the didactic part of the medieval Solomonic literature with a satisfactory text as basis, and his introduction reviews the whole field competently and with ample bibliographical detail. The latest addition to our materials is Walter Hartmann's excellent edition of the German didactic poem in couplets: *Salomon und Markolf: das Spruchgedicht* ("Die deutschen Dichtungen von Salomon und Markolf," Vol. II; Halle: Niemeyer, 1934; pp. xlv + 80). There are still problems to be solved in this great body of Solomonic material. No one has explained the curious symbolism of the pater-noster in the Old English dialogue. The Old French dialogues are still accessible only in Kemble's treatise, and some indeed are only in his proof-sheets. We can thank Hartmann for adding to our resources and can hope that the investigation of the literary tradition of Solomon will continue to maintain the same high level as heretofore.—A.T.

Forty-five years ago a young scholar published as his doctoral dissertation a slim book entitled *The absolute participle in Anglo-Saxon*. Marked by thoroughness and exactness in the collection of data, discriminating interpretation of the evidence and attention to every essential fact, especially to the relation of translated texts to their Latin originals, this study settled once and for all *ōri's* business. Last year the Modern Language Association published as one of its monographs *The consecutive subjunctive in Old English* by the same author, Morgan Callaway, Jr., long professor of English at the University of Texas. In the bibliography appended to the monograph are cited four other studies in syntax by the same author. This most recent publication of Professor Callaway shows the same painstaking care and thoroughness, the same impeccable technique as all its predecessors, and, like them, is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Anglo Saxon.—J. R. H.

With the publication of a facsimile of the Exeter Book, last year, all of the four chief manuscripts of Old English poetry have been made available to students of early English. As they have appeared, each of the last three facsimiles has marked an advance in scholarship as well as in technical execution, and this fourth book is a magnificent achievement. To the facsimiles are prefixed ninety-four pages of introductory chapters by R. W. Chambers, Max Förster, and Robin Flower. These sections study in detail every feature of the manuscript. For instance, in one chapter Professor Chambers and Mr. Flower give a transcription of the damaged passages in the manuscript, in the preparation of which they used ultra-violet rays; in another, Professor Förster makes a complete bibliographical description of the manuscript; in a third, Mr. Flower analyzes the script authoritatively and makes interesting suggestions of a connection between the production of the manuscript and the family of ealdormen who were Aelfric's patrons. The facsimiles themselves are of the highest quality.—J. R. H.

The most recent publication of the (English) Philological Society is an edition of the Middle English romance *Athelston*, by A. Mc'I. Trownce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1933). Because of the accurate work of Zupitza, Mr. Trownce is not able to improve our knowledge of the text. But he provides a study of the conventional elements in the narrative, and of the language, as well as a series of notes and a glossary. His chief contribution to our knowledge is the clarification of certain references to places in London. Anyone acquainted with medieval romance would recognize at a cursory reading of *Athelston* that it is a *rifacimento* of familiar narrative elements, and Mr. Trownce's useful section on analogues, on blood-brotherhood, and the ordeal in romances amply illustrates the fact. Mr. Trownce, however, apparently thinks his collection of analogues proves something about the source of the romance and disproves Miss Hibbard's (Professor Laura Hibbard Loomis') suggestion of a relation between *Athelston* and the story of Emma, mother of Ed-



ward the Confessor. Possibly he is right in some of his criticism of details in her argument, but the implication that the author of *Mediaeval romance in England* did not recognize the commonplaces in such narratives is ridiculous. Clearly the story of Emma has most of the elements of *Athelston* and it is the only other known English account of the ordeal of the nine plowshares; in view of these facts it is almost an absurdity to deny, as Mr. Trounce does, a connection between the two.—J. R. H.

Hilka's edition of Chrétien's *Perceval* continues to stimulate the production of Arthurian studies. The latest and one of the best is the comparison by Sister Marie Aloysa Rachbauer (*A study of the relation of the content of Books III–VI and IX of the Parzival to the Crestien manuscripts* [Washington: Catholic University, 1934]) of the German *Parzival* with the manuscript tradition of Chrétien's text. The method employed in this study is sound, the material is presented in an orderly and succinct form, and the results, while not conclusive, are valuable to scholars. Unfortunately, Sister Rachbauer was still dependent on the Lachmann edition of *Parzival*, pending a promised "critical" text by Hartl; and what is equally disturbing is that Hilka's edition of Chrétien does not always inform the reader from which particular manuscript a given reading is taken (see now Wilmotte, *Romania*, LIX [1933], 459). Nevertheless, the author makes it clear that Wolfram used a manuscript (or several manuscripts) of Chrétien belonging to a later redaction, according to Hilka's classification. It now appears certain that Wolfram knew the Bliocadran Prologue, the dedication to Philip of Flanders, and the material interpolated in MSS H, P, and T. Above all, "eighteen individual passages turn our attention to MS L [Brit. Mus. Add. MS 36614] as probably known to Wolfram." The last point, if correct, is interesting, because the author of the OF *Perlesvaus* used as his main source a manuscript also akin to L. As Wilmotte (*Romania*, LIX, 459) suggests, further detailed study of A, L, and R might shed light on the manner in which Chrétien's incomplete poem was handed down. Meantime, the present dissertation clears the road for further research. A rapid perusal shows remarkably few slips: *Soltâne* (p. 16), however, is certainly derived from Chrétien's *soutaine* (vs. 75), and it is regrettable that Chrétien's "romance" is referred to as an "epic," obviously a Germanism.—W. A. N.

Interest in Tannhäuser centers in the romantic story about his stay in the Venusberg. Johannes Siebert's new edition of Tannhäuser's verse (*Der Dichter Tannhäuser: Leben, Gedichte, Sage*. Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1934; pp. viii+250) includes some mention of the story with an extensive bibliography (pp. 240–41, n. 2). It appears that there is more reason for associating the story with Tannhäuser than scholars have hitherto known. The comprehensive introduction gives the usual information: the poet's life, criticism of the poems, and metrical studies. It rests to a considerable extent on Sie-



bert's exhaustive study of Tannhäuser issued in 1894. A commendable novelty in this edition is found in the quotation of texts ascribed to Tannhäuser by the Meistersinger (see pp. 207 ff.). It appears that some familiarity with Tannhäuser persisted among the Meistersinger until the middle of the seventeenth century. Except for the epochmaking edition of Reinmar von Zweter by Gustav Roethe, which appeared so long ago as 1887, scholars have largely neglected to seek information about medieval poets in the traditions of the Meistersinger. Although Siebert's edition makes further study easy, it does not solve all the problems in Tannhäuser's verse. There is still many a hard nut to crack.—A. T.

Margaret Schlauch's *Romance in Iceland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press; New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1934; pp. 201) is a first comparative survey of the *lygi-sögur*, seen against the background of older Icelandic and foreign literature—French, German, Latin, Byzantine, Russian, Arabic, and others.

Only a few older *lygi-sögur* are known to science through the histories of Icelandic literature, which stop at the Reformation. Until the publication of *Romance in Iceland*, the only way of finding out that sagas continued to be produced after the Reformation was to go to Copenhagen, or preferably Reykjavík, and read them there.

Dr. Schlauch is probably the only scholar of the present generation who has read all of the some seventy more or less inaccessible *lygi-sögur* discussed in her book. About fifty of these are found only in manuscript and twenty-one in popular prints which never got into the international book-trade. It does no good to write to dealers for these prints; one has to hunt them up in the antiquarian bookshops of Reykjavík and Akureyri or depend on the kindness of an Icelandic friend who knows a person who will sell his copy. Now and then one can be picked up in Copenhagen. Only two American libraries have any number of these editions and very few European. Only three *lygi-sögur* have been adequately edited (see Åke Lagerholm, *Drei Lygisögur* [Halle, 1927]).

No student of medieval literature can afford to neglect this modest book. Not more than once in a lifetime does one find so much that is new in so small a compass.—C. N. GOULD.

*The romantic quest* by Hoxie Neale Fairchild (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931; pp. viii+444) contains the substance of a course of lectures given at Columbia during the summer of 1929. What distinguishes it from most earlier attempts to survey the English romantic movement of the early nineteenth century is its frank abandonment of the traditional biographical *cadres* for the method of approach characteristic of the analytical history of ideas. It is designed, as the author tells us, "for students of some intellectual maturity, who, having already a bowing acquaintance with the writers of the age of Wordsworth, desire an interpretative analysis and synthesis of

the chief tendencies of the period." The book can be commended to such students alike for the liveliness of its exposition and for the freshness and independence of some of its views; but it must be read with caution, and on a good many points it seems likely to add to, rather than to diminish, the already imposing mass of confused and erroneous interpretations current with respect to its subject. It is unfortunate, for one thing, that in dealing with the intellectual origins of English "romanticism" Fairchild has accepted without adequate criticism the greatly oversimplified version of the thought of the Enlightenment contained in recent synoptic works like Randall's *Making of the modern mind*. Thus he follows Randall in interpreting the deistic movement of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a consequence of the application of the new Cartesian-Newtonian scientific world-view to religion (p. 166), and, in general, like Randall and others, he tends to see in all the important doctrines of this period either a reflection of, or a reaction against, the ideology of natural science (cf., e.g., his confused statements about the idea of "law of nature," [pp. 4, 6, 107]; his misleading account of "primitivism" (p. 12 and *passim*); and his curious assumption that there was something new and "romantic" in Godwin's notion of an "eternal law which the heart of every man of common-sense recognizes immediately" [p. 31; see also p. 112]). But the principal weaknesses of the book as a contribution to the literary history of ideas arise from a fault in its author's method—his inability or unwillingness to distinguish properly between conceptions that differ radically from each other with respect to either their logical implications or their historical origins. A striking instance in point is the chapter on "Romantic anti-intellectualism" (especially pp. 109–20), in which at least five distinct types of "anti-intellectualism," several of them much older than the eighteenth century, are presented as identical in essence with the characteristic "romantic anti-intellectualism," founded on the antithesis between the Reason and the Understanding, of Wordsworth and Coleridge.—R. S. C.

Not long ago the publication of the first volume of Arnold van Gennep's *Le folklore du Dauphiné (Isère): étude descriptive et comparée de psychologie populaire* was noted in these columns (XXXI, 111). The second volume has now appeared (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1933; pp. 326–792). In it the account of annual ceremonies and festivals is completed; magic, popular medicine, and weatherlore are described; and traditional tales, games, and songs are given in a final chapter. Comprehensive indexes conclude the work. The extensive list of places named makes it possible to reconstitute the entire folkloristic background of any village in the Dauphiné. Although the subtitle indicates van Gennep's intention to give comparative materials, annotations are scanty. The section on magic, popular medicine, and weatherlore might have used to great advantage the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. The surprisingly few tales current in the Dauphiné are satisfactorily annotated. Practically all comparative material is lacking in the section on games: the three

collections which are termed standard, viz., "Les recueils de Bécherelle, de Bélèze, de Rolland" (p. 644), are used for a few comparisons and are not described in any fuller bibliographical detail. In so important and extensive a collection of materials as this, the introduction of brief comparative notes could have been accomplished with little effort. It is regrettable, for example, that van Gennep does not give references to his own articles on counting-out rhymes in the *Mercure de France* or at least indicate the year of publication. But when van Gennep brings us so much in the way of materials, it is perhaps ungracious to ask for more. The *Folklore du Dauphiné* is the most comprehensive survey of the folklore of any French province. It is an admirable piece of work which will stimulate the collection of further materials in that province and will suggest comparison and study of folkloristic problems.—A. T.

